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A N
HISTORICAL VIEW
OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS

Between the COURTS of
England, France, and Brussels,
From the Year 1592 to 1617.

Extracted chiefly from the MS. State-Papers of
Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, Knt. Embassador in
France, and at *Brussels*, and Treasurer of the
Household to the Kings *James I.* and *Charles I.*
and of *Anthony Bacon*, Esq; Brother to the
Lord Chancellor *Bacon*.

To which is added,

A Relation of the STATE of *France*, with the CHA-
RACTERS of *Henry IV.* and the principal Persons of
that Court, drawn up by Sir *George Carew*, upon
his Return from his Embassy there in 1609, and
addressed to King *James I.* Never before printed.

By THOMAS BIRCH, M. A. F. R. S.
And Rector of the United-Parishes of *St. Margaret-
Pattens* and *St. Gabriel-Fenchurch*.

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M.DCC.XLIX.



INTRODUCTION.

To the HONOURABLE

PHILIP TORKE.



IN the course of that friendship, which you have for several years honoured me with, our conversation has frequently turned upon the subject of antient and modern History, which you are master of to a degree of accuracy, unusual in an age so little advanced, and in a rank and fortune attended with so many temptations and avocations. And indeed what study, next to that of the great and unalterable principles of Morality and Religion, the basis of all sound judgment and right conduct, is more suitable than this to the higher stations of life? It has at once the particular advantage of being the best qualification for public business, and the more general one of opening

iv INTRODUCTION.

and enlarging the mind by a thorough knowledge of mankind in all their situations, mazes, and recesses, superior to the imaginary theories of mere philosophers, and exempt from the inconveniencies, which accompany real practice, and personal experience.

But, useful and important as History is, we find our researches into it equally laborious, when truth, the soul of it, and the only foundation of solid instruction, is, as it ought ever to be, the main object of our pursuit. Ignorance, prejudice, envy, flattery, a false eloquence, and a false love of the marvellous, have at all times concurred in the misrepresentation of facts; the re-adjustment of which demands the united efforts of industry, sagacity, a modest and well-governed scepticism, and a firm spirit of candour and impartiality. Genius and abilities in the historian are absolutely necessary to the perfection of his work; but the indispensable requisite is the choice of proper materials, without which the greatest art cannot raise a superstructure of real use and duration. This is the grand article, in which the generality of this class of writers are absolutely deficient; the lower sort contenting themselves with a servile transcript of superficial and uninteresting chronicles, mingled with the current libels and panegyrics of the times; while those of greater vivacity, or petulance, hazard their groundless conjectures and opinions of the

views

INTRODUCTION. v

views and characters of persons, from whom they are at too great a distance of situation or time, to be able to form any just notions of either.

The *French* nation boasts a species of history under the title of *Memoirs*, of which we have few examples in our language: and some of their greatest men have either drawn up themselves, or furnished materials for accounts of affairs, which have passed within their own knowledge. But these, though highly useful in many respects, are in others too justly liable to the suspicion of a bias, which the writers may be supposed to have lain under, in favour of themselves, their friends, and their party. And we still want some better foundation for our judgments of events and characters.

These considerations led you, as well as myself, very early to search into the only true and unerring sources of history, the original letters and papers of those eminent men, who were the principal actors in the administration of affairs. In these facts are represented in the most artless and undisguised manner, and in the order, in which they happened; and the secret springs, causes, and motives, which produced them, are opened to view. The illustrious Lord *Bacon*, in the noblest of his performances (*a*), styles them *ad historiam pretiosissima supellex*. And his successor Bishop *Williams* observes (*b*), with great force and

(*a*) De augmentis Scientiar. L. II c. 12. (*b*) Letter to Lord *Bacon*, 31 December 1625. Lord *Bacon's* Works, Vol. IV. p. 738. edit. Lond. 1741. fol.

vi INTRODUCTION.

propriety, that “ our historians borrow as much
“ from the affections and phantasies of the writers,
“ as from the truth ; and are, for the most part
“ of them, built altogether upon unwritten rela-
“ tions and traditions :” but that “ letters written
“ *è re natâ*, and bearing a synchronism and equa-
“ lity of time *cum rebus gestis*, have no other
“ fault, than that, which was imputed to *Virgil*,
“ *nihil peccat, nisi quod nihil peccet*: They speak
“ the truth too plainly, and cast too glaring a
“ light for that age, wherein they were or are
“ written.”

The Antients, it must be owned, were wanting to themselves, in not making use of such authorities; and to us, in not transmitting them down to posterity. This defect, which is but ill compensated by the elegance and spirit of the fictitious speeches, with which their histories abound, is the more to be regretted, since we see to what excellent purposes the collection of *Cicero's Letters* has been applied by our learned friend Dr. *Middleton*, who has, by means of them, illustrated one considerable period of the *Roman* history in a manner, which does honour to our age and country. And what light might not have been thrown, by such a series of *Demosthenes's Epistles*, upon the history of *Greece* during the reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*, the invader of its liberties ; when even his *Orations*, a species of writing, that affords less variety

INTRODUCTION. vii

variety of facts, and more grounds of suspicion with regard to the truth of them, have, in the hands of *Tourreil* and *Olivier* (c), been highly subservient to the unfolding of the character and conduct of that wise, but ambitious Prince?

Father *Paul's History of the Council of Trent* is the first instance of a work of this kind, drawn from original evidence; which has supported it against all the arts and eloquence of Cardinal *Pallavicini*: and Time, which usually lessens the credit of other histories, has added new authority to this by every discovery, which has been since made relating to the subject of it. The performance of this great and good man has served for an example to Lord *Herbert* (whose *Life of King Henry VIII.* is chiefly form'd from our records;) as likewise to *Burnet*, *l'Enfant*, and *Brands*; and taught the world to expect of subsequent historians a weightier attestation, than their own assertions, or the popular traditions of the times when they wrote. *Tbuanus's* history deserves the character, which *Thucydides* gives to his own, of *κτῆμα ἐς αἰς*, a *Work for Eternity*; and will be immortal, from his infinite pains in informing himself of the truth, by a correspondence with persons of all parties, and all countries, and his unbiaſſed candour in relating it. Nor could the prejudices of the religion, in which he was

(c) *Histoire de Philippe de Macedoine*: par M. Olivier, de l'Academie des Belles Lettres de Marseille. Paris 1740. 8vo.

viii INTRODUCTION.

educated, prevail on him to justify, extenuate, or conceal, what was pretended to be done for its interest, in violation of justice or humanity ; nor the solicitations or resentments of King *James I.* induce him to alter or soften the character of his Royal Mother, when once he had satisfied himself about it by a full inquiry among the most impartial witnesses. But *Varillas* and *Maimbourg*, once the delight of those, who read only for amusement, have, upon a due examination, sunk into neglect and oblivion ; the former pretending to anecdotes from invisible manuscripts, in order to give a sanction to his own improbable fictions ; and the latter being equally wanting in diligence and sincerity, though he saw the use of State-letters, and, in one memorable instance (*d*), has destroyed the credit of *Davila's* elaborate account of a conversation between *Henry III.* of *France* and Cardinal *Morosini*, the Pope's Legate, immediately after the assassination of the Duke of *Guise* at *Blois*, by shewing from the Legate's own letters, that he could not procure any audience of that King till three days after. *Monfr. de Voltaire's Life of Charles XII. of Sweden* will soon be upon the same foot with *Quintus Curtius*, and only be read, like his *Henriade*, for the vigour of its style, and the force and beauty of imagination, which animate it ; while the truth of his Hero's character and actions will be sought in the

(*d*) Hist. de la Ligue, L. III.

more

INTRODUCTION. ix

more languid, but more exact narration of Mr. *Nordberg* (e). The same will, in all probability, be the fate of another *French* writer, Father *Daniel*, admired for his genius, but too indolent for an historian, who declares the study of State-papers to be a task of more fatigue than use*; and being shewn, in the Royal library at *Paris*, a vast collection of original manuscripts relating to the history of *France* from the reign of *Lewis XI.* spent a single hour in turning over the volumes, and then declared, that he was fully satisfied; intimating to Father *Tournemine*, that he did not want those old papers, *paperasses*, for his history (f); which is indeed, what might be expected from such a hand, a mere compilation from the most trivial books, in a more elegant style, and a more regular method.

The correcter and more extensive plans, which have been formed of modern history, have occasioned the bringing to light the treasures of the cabinets of several eminent Statesmen. And while *France* has favoured the world with the letters of *d'Ossat*, *Jeannin*, *d'Estrades*, &c. and *Holland* with those of *de Witt*; our nation has produced

(e) Chaplain to *Charles XII.* His Work was first published in *Swedish*, and since in *French* in 4 Volumes 4to.

* Hist. de France, Pref. p. LII. edit. *Paris* 1729. 4to.

(f) Langlet de Fresnoy, Supplement de la Methode pour etudier l'Histoire, Catal. des Histor. p. 159. edit. *Paris* 1740. 8vo. & de l'Usage des Romans, Tom. I. p. 110. edit. *Amst.* 1734.

those

x INTRODUCTION.

those of *Tbrockmorton, Smith, Walsingham, Burghley*, the *Sidneys, Winwood, Roe, Thurloe, Ormonde, Orrery, Temple, &c.* From these, and what else may be hoped for of the same kind, the history of our country will soon be raised to a degree of perfection, which may excite the emulation of our neighbours, if a genius equal to such a task will condescend to reduce these ample materials into a proper form.

To contribute in some measure to so noble a design, at least by supplying new materials, I undertook the following work; in which I have endeavoured to apply the unpublished State-papers of some great men to the illustration of several points of our history, which have not yet been described in their due proportions. At the same time I shall have an opportunity of doing justice to the characters and merits of those men, who, tho' they served their country with equal fidelity and abilities, do not make so conspicuous a figure in our annals, as others of a more turbulent disposition, whose ambition, like the public calamities of pestilence and war, not only employed the attention, and caused the misery, of their own times, but has left lasting marks of its fatal effects for the chief theme of historians, and a warning, instead of example, to posterity. And, upon this occasion, it will be but equitable to the memory of one of the meanest of our Princes, to observe, that the Ministers employed by King *James I.* in
foreign

INTRODUCTION. xi

foreign negotiations were generally men eminent for their talents in that kind. But his misfortune was, that their advice was seldom asked, and scarce ever followed by him ; his conduct being insouely governed by the passions and interests of his favourites, or his own pedantic and arbitrary principles.

In order to give you a just view of the present work, it will be proper to insert here some account of the persons, whose papers have furnished me with the materials.

Sir Thomas Edmondes was descended of a good family, different branches of which settled in several counties: but the books in the Heralds office are so defective in his pedigree (g), that it is not to be traced higher than his grandfather *Henry Edmondes*, of *New Sarum* in the county of *Wilts*, Gent. who, by his wife *Julian*, daughter of *William Brandon*, of the same county, had issue *Lawrence* his eldest son and heir ; *Henry*, his second son ; and *Thomas*, his third son ; and three daughters ; *Julian*, married to *Thomas Codemore* ; *Olyffe*, married to *Alexander Good* ; and *Jane*, married to *John Vanner*. *Thomas Edmondes*, the youngest son of *Henry* above-mentioned, was customer of the port of *Plymouth* and *Foye* in *Devon-*

(g) Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 472. 2d edit. is extremely erroneous in his account of our *Sir Thomas Edmondes*, whom he supposes to have been brother to *Sir Clement Edmondes*, the translator of *Cæsar's Commentaries*, and son of *Sir Thomas Edmondes*, Comptroller of the King's Household.

shire,

xii INTRODUCTION.

shire, and married *Joan* daughter of *Anthony Dalaber* of *Sherborn* in *Dorsetshire*, Esq; and by her had five sons, *Sylvester*, *William*, *John**, *Arthur*, and *Thomas*. This *Thomas*, afterwards Sir *Thomas*, was born before the year 1564, being mentioned in the visitation-book of *William Harvey*, Clarentius, of that year. In what school or university he was educated, does not appear; but he was introduced into public business under that experienced Statesman, Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*; and by that Queen, who was remarkable for her judgment in the choice of men, was employed as her agent to King *Henry IV.* of *France*, in which post he continued till *June* 1599, without any other reward than the office of Secretary to her Majesty for the *French* tongue, of which he had a grant in *May* 1596. In *December* 1599 he was sent by the Queen to the Archduke *Albert* about a treaty of peace; as he was again in *March* following upon the same business. In *May* 1600 he was one of the Commissioners in the treaty of *Boulogne*; and after his return was appointed one of the Clerks of the Council; and in *June* 1601 was sent again to *France*. When King *James I.* came to the Crown of *England*, he was knighted; and in *April* 1605. sent Embassador to the Archduke

* He died unmarried at the house of Sir *Thomas Stukeley*, on *St. Peter's-hill*, *London*, 25 *June* 1635, and was interred in the Church of *St. Peter's*. Funeral Certificates in the *Heralds Office*.

INTRODUCTION. xiii

at *Brussels*, where he resided till about the end of *August* 1609; and, in *May* 1610, went in the same employment to the Court of *France*, where he continued many years. His long experience, and important services, gave him a just claim to the post of Secretary of State; but he was not able to procure it, for reasons perhaps, which did him honour under so weak and corrupt an administration, as that of King *James I.*'s favourites. But at last, in *December* 1616, he was made Comptroller of the Household to his Majesty, and, in *January* 1617-18, advanced to be Treasurer of the Household; which post he held till his death. He had been chosen into the House of Commons in the beginning of that King's reign; but his employments abroad prevented him from attending there till his return home, when we find his name among the principal speakers in the Journals of that House. In the first Parliament of King *Charles I.* which met *June* 18th 1625, he sat as member for the University of *Oxford* (f); for which he was likewise returned in the next Parliament, which met at *Westminster* on the 26th of *February* following; but his election being declared void (g), he was elected afterwards for another place. In *September* 1629 he was sent Ambassador to the *French* Court, to receive *Lewis XIIIth's* oath for the performance of the treaty lately signed, by the mediation of the

(f) *Wood*, *Histor. & Antiq. Universit. Oxon.* L. II. p. 443.
 (g) *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. I. p. 837.

xiv INTRODUCTION.

Republic of *Venice*, between the two Crowns; and with this honourable Commission he concluded all his foreign employments. In *June* 1635 he was seized with the palsy in one of his hands; but, by proper revulsions, he recovered of it (*b*); and survived several years, dying *September* 20th 1639 (*i*). He married *Magdalene*, one of the daughters and coheirs of Sir *John Wood*, Knight, Clerk of the Signet (*k*); and, by this Lady, who died at *Paris* the 31st of *December* 1614, with a character amiable and exemplary in all respects, he had one son, *Henry*, born in 1600; but whose death, in *September* 1635, was no loss to his father, as he was sunk into the most inveterate and incorrigible habit of drunkenness (*l*). He had likewise three daughters, I. *Isabella*, born at *Brussels* in *November* 1607, who had her name from the Archduchess her Godmother (*m*), and was married about *March* 1624-5, to *Henry* Lord *De la War* (*n*): II. *Mary*, married to *Robert Mildmay*, Esq; by whom she had *Benjamin* Lord *Fitzwalter*, father of the present Earl *Fitzwalter* (*o*): III. *Louisa*, born at *Paris* in 1611, and baptized on the 15th of *September*, *Lewis XIII*.

(*b*) Letters and Dispatches of *Thomas Earl of Strafforde*, Vol. I. p. 435. (*i*) *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*, Vol. II. L. XIV. p. 18. *Wood*, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 472. says, that he died in *November*. (*k*) He died *September* 5th, 1610. (*l*) *Strafforde's* letters, Vol. I. p. 463. (*m*) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. IV. (*n*) Lord *Carraw* to Sir *Tho. Roe*, 25th of *March* 1625. *Roe's* Negotiations with the Grand Signor, p. 371. (*o*) *Collins's* Peerage of *England*, Vol. III. p. 232. 2d edit.

stand-

INTRODUCTION. xv

standing Godfather, and the Queen Regent God-mother, by their proxies the Princess of *Orange* and the Duke of *Bouillon* *. In *March* 1635-6 she married clandestinely one of her father's gentleman servants (p). Sir *Thomas* had with his wife the Manor of *Albins* in the parishes of *Stapleford-Abbot* and *Navestoke* in *Essex*, where *Inigo Jones* built for him a Mansion-house, delightfully situated in a park, now the seat of Sir *John Abdy*, Baronet (q).

Sir *Thomas Edmondes* was a man of uncommon sagacity, and indefatigable industry, in his employments abroad; always attentive to the motions of the Courts, where he resided, and punctual and exact in reporting them to his own: Of a firm and unshaken resolution in the discharge of his duty, beyond the influence of terror, flattery, or corruption. The *French* Court, in particular, dreaded his experience and abilities, and would gladly have removed so intelligent and severe an observer from his station amongst them: And the *Popish* and *Spanish* party there could scarce disguise their hatred of so zealous a supporter of the Protestant interest in that Kingdom. His style is clear, strong, and masculine, and entirely free from the pedantry and puerilities, which infected the most applauded writers of that age, Lord *Bacon*, Sir *Henry Wotton*, Dr.

* *Journal de Regne de Henry IV. Roi de France*, par *Pierre de l'Etoile*, Tom. IV. p. 225, 226. edit. de la Haye, 1741. (p) *Strafford's Letters*, Vol. I. p. 523. (q) *History and Antiquities of Essex*, p. 43, 44.

Donne,

xvi INTRODUCTION.

Donne, &c. His letters and papers, which compose twelve volumes in folio, were once in the cabinet of Secretary *Thurloe*, and afterwards in that of the Lord Chancellor *Somers*. And it is observable, that those two great men, whose natural talents for the administration of affairs were superior to those of most others, thought the study of such collections of the highest use to themselves; and that the experience of their predecessors was a considerable improvement of their own.

SIR GEORGE CAREW, whose admirable *Relation of the State of France* is a model, upon which Embassadors may form and digest their notions and representations, and for the communication of which the public, as well as myself, are highly obliged to you, was a native of *Cornwall*, and of the antient family of *East-Anthony*; being younger brother* of *Richard Carew*, Esq; author of the *Survey of Cornwall*, and second son of *Thomas Carew* (a) of *East-Anthony*, Esq; by *Elizabeth Edgecombe*, daughter of *Richard Edgecombe*, of *Edgecombe* in *Cornwall*, Esq; He was edu-

* *Wood*, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 452. by mistake says uncle.

(a) This *Thomas Carew* was son and heir of Sir *Wymond Carew*, of *East-Anthony*, Knight, by *Martha*, daughter of *Edmund*, and sister of Sir *Anthony Denny*, Knight. Sir *Wymond* was son and heir of *John Carew*, the son and heir of *Alexander Carew*, of *East-Anthony*, Esq; third son of *Nicholas* Baron *Carew*, who lived in the reign of *Henry VI*. *Visitation-book of Devon and Cornwall*, taken in the year 1620, by Sir *Henry St. George*, *Richmond*, and *Sampson Leonard*, *Bluemantle*, fol. 27. and Funeral Certificates in the *Heralds Office*, fol. 22.

cated

INTRODUCTION. xvii-

cated in the University of *Oxford*, and afterwards studied the Law in the *Inns of Court*; then travelled into foreign countries; and, at his return, was called to the Bar, and appointed Secretary to Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Lord Chancellor of *England*, and to the Lord-Keeper *Puckering* and *Egerton*, by the special recommendation of Queen *Elizabeth* herself, who gave him a Prothonotariſhip in the *Chancery*, and knighted him (r); and, in 1597, ſent him Embaſſador to the King of *Poland* (s), he being at that time a Maſter in Chancery (t). In the latter end of the year 1605 he was appointed Embaſſador to the Court of *France*, where he continued till 1609. During his reſidence there he was looked upon by the *French* Miniſters, as not well-affected to their nation, and more attached to the *Spaniſh* intereſt (v). But whether they had ſufficient grounds for this opinion, it is not eaſy to diſcover at ſuch a diſtance of time; and it is highly probable, that their diſguſt to him might ariſe from their not finding him very tractable in ſome points of his Negotiation, and particularly in the demand of the debts due to the King his Maſter (w). But, whatever his political principles might be, it is certain, that he ſought the converſation of men of letters, and became ac-

(r) *Corney's Survey of Cornwall*, fol. 61. and *Wood, Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 530. (s) *Camden's Eliz.*

p. 695, 696. edit. *Lugd. Batav.* 1625. (t) *Wood, ibid.* ſupr. (v) *Lettres d'Henry IV. Roi de France, & de Meſſ. de Villeroy & de Puſieux, à Monſr. Antoine le Fevre de la Boderie, Embaſſadeur de France en Angleterre, Tom. I.*

p. 144. & 224. edit. *Amſterd.* 1733. in 8vo. (w) *Ibidem, Tom. I.* p. 119. 126. 137, 138. 154, &c.

xviii INTRODUCTION.

quainted with *Thuanus*, to whom he communicated an account of the transactions in *Poland*, while he was employed there, which that admirable Historian made use of in his CXXI. Book, and sent a present to him of his History, which Sir *George* acknowledged in a *Latin* letter, dated at *London* the 23d of *October* 1612 (x). After his return from *France* he was advanced to the important post of Master of the Court of Wards; but he did not long enjoy it; for *Thuanus*, in a letter to *Camden*, written about *Easter* 1613 (y), laments his death as a very unfortunate event to himself; for he considered Sir *George*'s friendship, not only as an ornament to him, but likewise of no small use in his work, as well as of the greatest weight in removing the calumnies and misrepresentations, which might be raised of him in the Court of *England*. He married *Thomasine*, daughter of Sir *Francis Godolphin*, great grandfather of the Lord Treasurer *Godolphin*, by whom he had two sons, *Francis* and *Richard*. *Francis*, the elder, was created *Knight of the Bath*, at the Coronation of King *Charles* I. and attended the Earl of *Denbigh* to the relief of *Rochelle*, where he got great reputation by his courage and conduct; but, falling sick at sea in his return from thence, died in the *Isle of Wight*, *June* 4th 1628, at the age of twenty-seven; as *Richard*, the younger son, died about that of seventeen. Of the three

(x) *Thuani Histor. edit. Buckleii, Vol. VII. De Thuani Historiæ apud Jacobum I. Regem successu, p. 26.* (y) *G. Camdeni & illustrium Virorum ad G. Camdenum epistol. p. 139.*

daughters,

INTRODUCTION. xix

daughters, *Anne* was married to *Giles Rawlins*, Gentleman; but *Sophia*, the second, and *Lucy*, the youngest, died unmarried (z).

ANTHONY BACON, Esq; whose papers have been also of great service to me in this work, and of which there are several volumes in the *Lambeth* library, besides that in my possession, was son of Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, Knight, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, by his second wife, *Anne*, one of the daughters of Sir *Anthony Cook*, a Lady eminent for her skill in the *Latin* and *Greek* languages; as was likewise her sister *Mildred* (a), the second wife of the Lord Treasurer *Burgbley*. He was elder brother of the whole blood to Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord High Chancellor, to whom he was thought equal in parts, though inferior in the acquisitions of learning and knowledge *. He travelled early into foreign countries; for he was at *Paris* in the beginning of the year 1580 (b), and at *Geneva* in 1581, where he was acquainted with the celebrated *Theodore Beza*, who speaks of him in very high terms of admiration, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer in *December* that year (c). It appears likewise, from his papers, that he was at *Bordeaux*, and *Montauban*, and in other parts of *France*, in the years 1584 and 1586. Upon his return to *England*, about *Janu-*

(z) Funeral Certificates, ubi supra. (a) *Buchanan* has an Epigram L. III. ad Antonium Cocum Equitem Anglum, & filius doctissimas. * *Dr. Rawley's Life of Lord Bacon*.

(b) This appears from his MS. Papers in the *Lambeth* Library. (c) *Strype's Annals of the Reformation*, Vol. III.

Append. No. XIII. p. 21.

xx INTRODUCTION.

ary 1589-90, he held a correspondence by letters in different countries; by which he received the earliest accounts of what passed there. And tho' the Lord Treasurer was his uncle, and Sir *Robert Cecil*, Secretary of State, his cousin-german, yet he attached himself chiefly to *Robert Devereux*, Earl of *Essex*, who, by his means, carried on a correspondence with the King of *Scots*, of which there are sufficient evidences among Mr. *Bacon's* manuscripts in my hands. But his death happening before that King's accession to the Throne of *England*, and probably in the latter end of the year 1599 (c), deprived him of the reward, which he might have expected for *the good, faithful, and acceptable service*, which his Majesty acknowledged to have received from him, in the grant of a pension of sixty pounds *per Annum* to his brother, Sir *Francis Bacon* (d), who had reminded that King, in 1603, *of the infinite devotion, and incessant endeavours (beyond the strength of his body, and the nature of the times) which had, says he, appeared in my good brother, Mr. Anthony Bacon, towards your Majesty's service.* He was extremely well skilled in all the polite arts, and particularly in that of Painting; several excellent performances of his, in the *Flemish* style, being still preserved at his seat at *Gorbambury* †, near *St. Albans* in *Hertfordshire*; an estate, which had been settled upon him by his father, and de-

(c) I find no letters to him dated later than *Aug. 27th* that year. (d) *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XVI. p. 597. † Now in the possession of the Right Hon. Lord the *Grimstone*.

scended

INTRODUCTION. xxi

scended, upon his death without issue, to his brother, Sir *Francis Bacon* §.

But the sincerity requisite in history obliges me not to conceal a fact, which by no means does honour to Mr. *Bacon*'s memory, being inconsistent with the strict friendship between the Earl of *Essex* and him, the great obligations, which he had to his Lordship, and even the bonds of that common faith, which bind men in general to each other. The story is related by Sir *Henry Wotton*, who was likely to know the truth of it, having been himself Secretary to the Earl in two of his voyages to sea, and in his last employment in *Ireland*; for which reason he left *England* privately, when his Lordship was first apprehended, and never returned thither during Queen *Elizabeth*'s life (e). Sir *Henry* tells us (f), that the Earl had accommodated Mr. *Bacon*, who was lame, with a part of his house, and assigned to him a noble entertainment: But that, as all the Earl's intelligences with *Scotland* passed through this Gentleman's hands, he, being of a provident nature, contrary to the temper of his brother Sir *Francis*, and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous secret, would many times cunningly let fall some words, as if he could amend his fortunes under the *Cecils*, to whom he was so nearly related, and who had made (as he was not unwilling should be believed) some great offers to

§ Dr. *Rawley*'s Life of Lord *Bacon*. Sir *Henry Chauncy*'s *Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, p. 464. and *Salmon*'s History of *Hertfordshire*, p. 83. (e) *Isaac Walton*'s Life of Sir *Henry Wotton*. (f) *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ*, p. 168, 169. 3d edit.

xxii INTRODUCTION.

gain him. This he once or twice pressed so far, and with such signs of discontentment, to the Lord *Henry Howard*, afterwards Earl of *Norshampton*, who was of the party, and stood himself in much umbrage with the Queen, that his Lordship went immediately to the Earl of *Essex*, with whom he was commonly *primæ admissionis*, by his bedside in the morning; and told him, that, unless Mr. *Bacon* were presently satisfied with some round sum, all would be discovered. This took the Earl at that time ill provided (as indeed his coffers were often low;) so that he was obliged suddenly to give Mr. *Bacon Essex-house*, which the old Lady *Walsingham*, mother to the Countess of *Essex*, afterwards disengaged out of her own fortune, by advancing two thousand five hundred pounds. And, before this, Mr. *Bacon* had procured fifteen hundred pounds by the same artifice. “So as we may rate, adds “*Sir Henry Wotton*, this one secret, as it was “finely carried, at four thousand pounds in present money, besides at least one thousand pounds “of annual pension to a private and bed-ridden “Gentleman. What would he have gotten, if “he could have gone about his own business?”

After such a view of the persons, the substance of whose papers (together with the entire discourse of *Sir George Carew*,) I now exhibit to the public, digested into a series of history, it would be superfluous to insist on the use of these papers any further, than by remarking some of the chief points contained in them: And these are, a particular detail of the Negotiations between Queen *Eliza-*

beth,

INTRODUCTION. xxiii

beth and *Henry IV. of France*; and of the great assistance, which he, as well as the States General, received from her Majesty: The Earl of *Essex's* course of secret intelligence in *France* by means of the famous *Antonio Perez*, who had been Secretary of State to *Philip II. of Spain*; and his Lordship's constant opposition to any treaty with *Spain*: The steps taken by the King of *France* towards a peace with that Kingdom: Secretary *Cecil's* and Mr. *Herbert's* Embassy to *France*, to divert that King from concluding the treaty of *Ver-
vins*, without Queen *Elizabeth*, and the States General: The Negotiations subsequent to that treaty, for a peace between *England*, the States General, and *Spain*, which proved ineffectual during that Queen's life: The attention of her Majesty, and her Ministers, to the intrigues of the King of *Scots* with foreign Princes: Remarkable circumstances attending the Queen's death: The prevalence of the *Spanish* interest in the Court of *England* after King *James I.'s* accession to the Crown: The characters of the principal Ministers of the Courts of *France* and *Brussels*: The practices of the *Jesuits*, and *English* fugitives in *Flanders*, for bringing over the *English* Regiment, in the Archduke's service there, to second the execution of the Gunpowder-plot; with several circumstances, hitherto unknown, shewing the reality and extent of that plot: The conduct of the *English* Commissioners in the treaty for the truce between *Spain* and the United Provinces in 1609; with Prince *Maurice's* endeavours to break off that treaty: Remarks relating to the murder of *Hen-
ry*

ry IV. of *France*: The state of affairs in that Kingdom during the minority of *Lewis XIII.* The factions in that Court: The designs of the Princes of the Blood, and the heads of the Protestant party, to remove Secretary *Villeroy*, and other Ministers, who were devoted to *Spain*: The countenance, which King *James I.* gave to those designs; his intrigues with the Princes; and his frequent interpositions in the domestic quarrels of *France*: The attention, which Prince *Henry* gave to foreign affairs: His zeal for the Protestant interest; and his spirit and vivacity, which gave umbrage to his father, and his favourite, *Carr Viscount Rochester*: The factions, which distracted the *English* Court under that favourite, and his successor *Villiers Earl of Buckingham*: The distressed situation of the Nation under their administration, confessed even by some of the great men then in employment: And the characters of some of those great men.

These topics of History, illustrated from such incontestable authorities, are, I persuade myself, of sufficient importance for the public notice. Nor will, perhaps, the present method of inserting only the most remarkable letters, with extracts of the rest, and connecting them with the general History of those times, be disrelished by the majority of readers, who have neither leisure nor patience to peruse the intire collections themselves. And I could wish, Sir, that my share in this work were considerable enough to deserve your approbation, and be a lasting mark of my sincerest gratitude and esteem.

Aug. 4th 1748.

AN



A N
HISTORICAL VIEW
OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS

Between the COURTS of
England, France, and Brussels,
From the Year 1592 to 1617.



THE Situation of Affairs between *England* and *France*, when Mr. *Edmondes* was appointed Agent in *France* for Queen *Elizabeth*, will be best understood, by looking as far back, as the Death of *Henry III.* who was assassinated on the 1st of *Aug.* 1588 by *James Clement*, a *Dominican* Frier. Upon this Event, *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and Head of the House of *Bourbon*, who had been appointed by the dying King his Successor, assumed the Name of *Henry IV.* But the League refusing to acknowledge

2 *View of the Negotiations between*

ledge him, and finding himself deserted by several great Men of the late King's Party, in order to retain some of the Catholic Nobility, he was obliged to promise them, that he would within a certain Time be instructed in the Principles of the *Roman Catholic Faith*; by which he was understood to mean nothing less, than that he would profess himself of that Religion. In the mean time he was destitute of Men and Money, the *Swiss* and *Germans*, who had served under *Henry III.* threatening to leave him, unless he would pay them their *Arrears*; which he was not able to do. In this distressed Situation he had recourse to *Queen Elizabeth*, who generously promised him a Supply of Men and Money. In Expectation of these Succours, he stood firm against *Charles Duke of Mayenne*, who had forced him into *Normandy*, and even attacked him at *Arques*, but without Success. King *Henry* now thought himself in such Danger, that he would have followed the Advice given him by some, to fly into *England*, if he had not been diverted by the *Marshal de Biron* from that Resolution (a). At last the *English* Supplies arrived, consisting of four thousand Men, under the Command of *Peregrine Bertie Lord Willoughby*, accompanied by *Sir Thomas Wilford*, *Sir John Burroughs*, *Sir Thomas Drury*, and *Sir Thomas Baskerville*; and of twenty two thousand Pounds Sterling in Gold. With this Reinforcement he advanced to *Paris*, and took one of the Suburbs of that City, on the first of *Nov. 1589* (b); but was obliged soon to retire, the Duke of *Mayenne* having entered *Paris* with his Army; and causing the old Cardinal *de Bourbon*, then Prisoner in the Castle of *Amboise*,

(a) Thuanus, L. xcvi. Tom. IV. Edit. Londin. Davila, L. x. Le Gendre, Nouvelle Hist. de France. Tom. II. p. 733--736.

(b) Camdeni Annales Reginz *Elizabeth*. p. 559, 560. Edit. Lugd. Batav. 1625.

to be proclaimed King, assumed himself the Title of Lieutenant General of the Crown of *France* (c).

In *March* 1590, King *Henry* gained the important Battle of *Ivry* against that Duke; after which he invested *Paris*, and took the Suburbs; and that great City was now reduced to the utmost Extremity, when *Alexander Farnese* Duke of *Parma* arrived from the *Netherlands*, and forced *Henry* to raise the Blockade; and returned without the King's being able to oblige him to fight (d). The same Year the Duke of *Mercoeur*, of the House of *Lorraine*, made himself Master of *Bretagne* by the Assistance of the *Spaniards*, who took *Hennebont* and *Blavet* (e). This Affair gave great Uneasiness to Queen *Elizabeth*; who was extremely unwilling to have the *Spaniards* so near her, especially as *Philip* II. of *Spain* might claim *Bretagne*, and perhaps the whole Kingdom of *France*, for his Daughter the Infanta *Isabella*, whose Mother was Daughter of *Henry* II. of *France*; in which View he was avowed by Pope *Sixtus* V. to the utmost of his Power, under Colour of hindering an Heretic from being acknowledged King of *France*. It was evidently therefore the Interest of Queen *Elizabeth*, as well as of the other Protestant Princes, to support *Henry* IV. and prevent the aggrandizing of the King of *Spain*'s Power by the Acquisition of *France*. But she expected, that the Succours, which she gave *Henry*, should be employed in driving the *Spaniards* out of the Maritime Provinces of *Bretagne*, *Normandy*, and *Picardy*; which was of most Consequence to her: Whereas it was for the King's Advantage, on the other hand, to expel his Enemies from the Centre of his Kingdom, before he thought of attacking them on

(c) Davila, L. xi.
L. xcix.

(d) Id. ibid.

(e) Thuanus,

4 *View of the Negotiations between*

the Borders; and the rather, as by this means he put Queen *Elizabeth* under a continual Necessity of assisting him (f). However, in order to obtain Aid from *England*, he promised what that Queen required; and a Treaty was agreed upon in 1591, whereby her Majesty engaged to send three thousand Men into *Bretagne* and *Picardy*, to hinder the *Spaniards* from settling in those Provinces, on Condition she should be repaid all her Charges in raising and keeping those Troops, within a Year, or sooner, if the Enemy should be dispossessed in that Time (g). Accordingly three thousand *English* passed soon after over into *France*, part into *Bretagne*, under the Conduct of Sir *John Norreys*, and part into *Picardy*, under the Command of Sir *Roger Williams*. At the same time *Henry IV.* had negotiated in *Germany* a Levy of eleven thousand Men, by means of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and *Casimire Prince Palatine*. But this Supply not being sufficient, he sent to demand a second of Queen *Elizabeth*; and to obtain it the more easily, insinuated to her, that with this Reinforcement, he should be able to undertake the Siege of *Roan*. The Queen, impatient to see the Maritime Towns rescued out of the Hands of the Leaguers, soon agreed to a new Treaty, whereby she engaged to supply King *Henry* with four thousand Men more, and pay them for two Months, imagining that Time was sufficient for the Siege of *Roan*; and gave the Command of these Troops to her favourite Earl of *Essex*. The young Earl, attended with Sir *Thomas Leighton* and Sir *Henry Killigrew*, departed from *England* about July 1591, full of Hopes to signalize himself at the Siege of *Roan*; but, upon his Arrival in *France*, found the Siege had not been so

(f) Rapin Thoyras, L. xvii. Tom. VI. p. 437, 438. Edit. de la Haye, 1727, 4to. (g) Camden, p. 574, 575.

much as thought of; the King being employed before *Noyon*, and intending to fend the *Engliſh* Forces into *Champagne*. Upon this the Earl returned to *England*, having firſt given the King his Parole of Honour to come and join him, as ſoon as the Siege of *Roan* ſhould be undertaken; but he left his Troops in *France* under the Command of Sir *Roger Williams*(*b*).

Queen *Elizabeth*, being extremely offended at ſeeing thus impoſed upon, wrote to *Henry IV.* threatening to recall her Troops, unleſs he immediately performed his Promiſe. This obliged him to cauſe *Roan* to be inveſted by Marſhal *de Biron*. But he took a freſh Occaſion from thence to demand of the Queen a new Supply of five thouſand Men, on pretence that the Troops already ſent were extremely diminiſhed by Sickneſs and Deſertion. At the ſame time the Earl of *Eſſex*, hearing that *Roan* was inveſted, went over to the Siege, contrary to the Queen's expreſs Orders, who commanded him to return, and gave a ſevere Answer to the *French* Embaſſador, who demanded the five thouſand Men; to obtain whom the King likewiſe ſent over to *England* *Mornay Du Pleſſis*, who went back to *France* without Succeſs; and the King was obliged to raiſe the Siege of *Roan*, upon the Approach of the Duke of *Parma*, who was joined by the Duke of *Mayenne*, and the young Duke of *Guiſe*, who had eſcaped out of Priſon. *Henry IV.* perceived now by the Queen's Conduct, that ſhe would not ſuffer herſelf to be amuſed by his Artifices; and, fearing to loſe ſo neceſſary an Aſſiſtance, laboured ſo effectually to be reconciled with her, that at laſt ſhe ſent him two thouſand freſh Men; but it was not till after the raiſing the Siege (*i*).

In 1592, a new Treaty was concluded between the Queen and the King of *France*, by

(*b*) *Id.* p. 577, 578. (*i*) *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. VI. *Rapin*, ubi ſupra, and *Camden*, p. 578, 579.

6 *View of the Negotiations between*

which she agreed to furnish him with four thousand Men, some Pieces of Ordnance, and a certain Quantity of Ammunition: That he should add to the *English* Troops four thousand Foot, and a thousand Horse; and this Army be employed to recover *Bretagne*: That he should within a Year repay all her Charges: That he should not make Peace with the Leaguers, till they promised him to assist in driving the *Spaniards* out of the Kingdom: That *England* should be expressly included in the Peace, which he should make with *Spain* (*k*). The Queen upon this sent four thousand Men into *Bretagne*, under the Command of Sir *John Norreys*; who had been called home to inform her Majesty of the State of Affairs in that Country. But *Henry IV.* instead of joining his Troops with the *English*, and carrying the War into *Bretagne*, ordered them to serve in *Normandy*; which the Queen highly resented, and determined to recall her Troops: but, hearing that the Duke of *Parma* was preparing to make a third Expedition into *France*, sacrificed her Resentment to the Good of that Kingdom (*l*), which was in some measure her own. The Duke was indeed upon the Point of re-entering *France*; but his Death, which happened at *Arras* on the 3d of *Dec. N. S.* 1592 (*m*), freed both the King and Queen from their Apprehensions; and Mr. *Edmondes*, in his Letter to the Lord Treasurer *Burghley* from *Chartres*, *Nov.* 27th *O. S.* mentions the King's having sent thither the News of the Duke's Death, which, he observed, *would greatly stagger the new Election of a King then intended at Paris* (*n*): For that Duke had, according to *Davila* (*o*), resolved

(*k*) Rymer, Vol. XVI. p. 151, 168, 171, 173.

(*l*) Camden, p. 597, 598. (*m*) Meteren, *Histoire des Pays Bas*, Lib. xvi. fol. 343. Edit. de la Haye, 1618.

(*n*) Sir *Tbo. Edmondes's* MS. State Papers, Vol. I. (*o*) L. xiii.

to support the Choice of the Duke of *Mayenne*, as more profitable to the Interests of the King of *Spain*, than that of any other Person, because he might be established upon the Throne of *France* with more Facility, less Charge, and more advantageous Conditions.

Henry IV. still continued to deceive Queen *Elizabeth*. Sir *John Norreys* was still in *Bretagne* with the *English* Forces. He had been promised a Place in that Province for a Retreat; and that the Duke *d'Anjou* and *Espinay* should join him; but he was long left there, without being thought of. At last *Espinay* being arrived, they made together some little Conquests, too inconsiderable to requite the Queen for the Maintenance of her Troops, which cost her weekly three thousand two hundred Pounds Sterling (p), and the King was then indebted to her fifty two thousand seven hundred and eighty-three Pounds (q). Thus, instead of employing the *English* to drive the *Spaniards* out of *Bretagne*, *Henry* used them only to keep his Enemies in Awe, and hinder them from making greater Progress, while he was warring elsewhere. The Queen, seeing herself thus deceived, would have recalled her Troops; but was persuaded by the Marshal *d'Anjou*, not only to leave them, but even to send fresh Supplies, upon the Hopes he gave her, that the King would very soon make a powerful Effort to reduce that Province (r). But the Queen's Uneasiness at the King's Proceedings was nothing in Comparison of her Concern, when she heard, that he was going to abjure the Protestant Religion, and reconcile himself to the Church of *Rome*; at the first News of which she dispatched Sir *Thomas Wylkes*, to dissuade him, if possible, from that Design. But Sir *Thomas*, at his Arrival, found the Affair

(p) Camden, p. 609.
(q) Camden, p. 609.

(r) Rymer, Vol. XVI. p. 194.

8 *View of the Negotiations between*

already completed (*s*); the King having made his public Profession of the *Roman Catholic Religion* at *St. Denis*, on *Sunday* the 25th of *July*, 1593 (*t*); which he did, as he alleged to *Wylkes*, against his Will, and after as long a Delay as possible; and merely from the Exigence of his Affairs, finding it impossible to establish himself upon the Throne, if he should continue a Protestant (*v*).

Nor was this the only Affair, which *Wylkes* was commissioned to mention to the King *Henry*; for he had Orders from the Queen to complain, that the late Treaty was not executed; and that Marshal *d' Aumont's* Delay had been very expensive to her Majesty. The King cast all the Blame upon the Marshal, and positively promised to march himself into *Bretagne*, when the Truce for that Province was expired. He added, that in the mean time he would advise with his Council concerning the Place of Retreat for the *English Troops* (*w*). But these were only empty Words; for the King's Intention was not to employ his Forces against *Bretagne*, before he had reduced the rest of *France*; but only to use the *English Troops* by way of Diversion to the Duke of *Mercoeur*, for fear, that when he had made himself absolute Master of *Bretagne*, he should assist the Duke of *Mayenne*. Still less did he intend to give a Place of Retreat to the *English* in that Province, lest he should find it very difficult to dislodge them. But the King of *Spain* preparing to exert his utmost Endeavours in Support of the League, which was declining since *Henry IV.'s* turning Catholic (*x*), the Queen readily made a League offensive and defensive with him, whatever Reasons she had to complain of him. This League was concluded and signed at *Melun*, in

(*s*) Id. p. 610.
Davila, L. xiii.

p. 612, 613.

(*t*) Thuanus, Lib. cvii. Tom. V. &

(*v*) Camden, p. 610.

(*w*) Id.

(*x*) Rapin, L. xvii. p. 446.

August;

August; and, among other Articles, it was agreed, that a Peace should not be made without a mutual Consent (y).

Mr. *Edmondes* was ordered by a Letter of the 6th of *September* 1593 (z), to treat with the *French* King, "to have his private Assent (if he would have the Troops, now with Sir *Roger Williams* at *Dieppe*, to remain in *France*), that her Majesty's Forces might be permitted to have a Place in the Mouth of the River of *Some* beneath *St. Valery* and *Crotoy*, which Place is not inhabited, nor yet fortified. Whereunto if the *French* King will not assent, then her Majesty will have her Troops called from *France*." The Lord Treasurer wrote to Mr. *Edmondes* from *Windsor* on the 23d of the same Month, in which he took Notice, "That Sir *John Norreys* with his Troops in *Bretagne* had been refused Entrance into the Town of *Pempole*, and the Isle of *Breake*, to reside there as a Garison." His Lordship added, that these and such-like Disappointments of Promises have been the Cause to provoke her Majesty to withdraw her People, which have been more wasted in two or three Years in *France*, for lack of Relief, and Places of Retreat, than hath been in any open War these many Years past."

The Queen having now determined to send Sir *Robert Sidney*, Governor of *Flushing*, one of the cautionary Towns in the *Netherlands*, as her Ambassador to the King of *France*, Sir *Robert Cecil*, younger Son of the Lord Treasurer, gave Mr. *Edmondes* Notice of this in the following Letter, dated from *Windsor*, Oct. 4, 1593.

"This Letter may only serve you for understanding, that Sir *Robert Sidney* is sent her Ma-

(y) Camden. p. 613. (z) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s MS. Stat. Papers, Vol. I. Letter of Lord Treasurer *Burghley* to Mr. *Edmondes*, from *Windsor*, Sept. 23, 1593.

"jesty's

“ jeſty’s Embaſſador to the *French* King, whoſe
 “ Negotiation is not without Matter of Importance
 “ for the Good of the King’s beſt Party, who left
 “ him not, when he had no body elſe, and whoſe
 “ Declination (what Gloſs ſoever may be ſet on the
 “ Matter) will conſequently occaſion his Ruin.
 “ You ſhall do very well therefore (which I ſpeak
 “ not out of Doubt of your Diſcretion) to obſerve
 “ and apply yourſelf, with all particular Informations,
 “ to make him know all Things, which your
 “ Abode hath purchaſed, and of which his own
 “ Judgment will make very good Uſe and Application.
 “ One Thing more I only add, that you
 “ ſhall do very well, in all ſuch ſecreteſt Things, as
 “ you have ſome time from the Duke of *Bouillon*,
 “ to write it in ſome little Ticket incloſed in your
 “ Letter; whereby, if need be, the Queen may
 “ ſhew the general Letter, and yet diſtribute that,
 “ to whom ſhe will pleaſe, after it be given her
 “ by him, that receives your Packet. If you
 “ underſtand not my Meaning, it is only as you ſee
 “ by this Demonſtration. And ſo in Haſte I com-
 “ mit you to God.”

Sir *Robert Sidney*, according to his Inſtructions,
 ſtrongly recommended to *Henry IV.* the Protection
 of the Proteſtant Religion, and its Profeſſors; which
 the King promiſed to continue to them, as he had
 always done. But he would not hearken to the
 Propoſal, which Sir *Robert* made to him from the
 Queen, that *Breſt* ſhould be delivered into the Hands
 of the *Engliſh*, as a Retreat for them, and a Security
 for the Money advanced to him by her Majeſty.
 For the *French* could not bear, that the *Eng-
 liſh* ſhould have any Poſſeſſion in their Country,
 much leſs one of their Ports; remembring perhaps,
 how eaſily the *Engliſh*, by being Maſters of the
 Ports, over-ran *France* with their Conqueſts; and
 how difficultly they were expelled. The Advice
 there-

England, France, and Brussels. 11

therefore, which Queen *Elizabeth* had given against the *Spaniards*, was turned by the *French* against her Countrymen (a).

The Lords of the Council wrote to Mr. *Edmondes* from *Windsor* on the 24th of *October*, to insist, that the King of *France* should give Leave to Sir *Edward Brooke*, with the *English* Troops, to remove to *Ostend*, which was then in Danger of being besieged.

Mr. *Edmondes* had been allowed, during his Residence in *France*, twenty Shillings a Day, as appears by a Letter to him from the Lord Treasurer dated at *Nonsuch*, Aug. 8, 1592, and directed to my loving Friend Thomas *Edmondes* remaining in France with the French King for her Majesty's Affairs. But this Allowance was so ill paid, or so insufficient for his Subsistence, that he was obliged to represent in most pathetic Terms his distressed Circumstances, in a Letter from *Mantes* on the 21st of *December*, 1593, to the Lord Treasurer. " It may
" please your Lordship, says he, I have made bold
" often heretofore to trouble your Lordship with a
" Declaration of my miserable State here, and in
" attending, that it would please your Lordship to
" procure my Delivery hence. I have suffered under the Burden thereof as much as hath been possible for a poor Creature ; yet which I could not so long have carried, had it not been for Mr. *Smythe's* Charity and Pity of me, in having given me extraordinary Credit for Money taken upon him, which hath been owing him these four Months. And the said Supply ended, I had no other Course but presently to have returned : For, not having a Penny more, wherewith to have followed the King, had it not been, that, in so great an Extremity, he did again furnish me at *Dieppe* with

(a) Camden, p. 613, 614.

" other

12 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ other 200 Crowns, to keep me afloat, in at-
 “ tending Sir *Robert Sidney*’s coming hither, that I
 “ might have passed over, to have represented my
 “ miserable Case: Of the which Hope being
 “ now frustrated, and therewith the said Propor-
 “ tion now also shortly spent, I vow to your
 “ Lordship, I know not how I shall be longer
 “ able to follow the King. Yet will I seek all
 “ Means possible to take up Money there, though
 “ I know not upon whom to assign the Payment
 “ thereof, now that Mr. *Smythe* denieth to give
 “ me further Credit. It is to many known the
 “ poor Life I do here lead under the Burden of
 “ this heavy Expence far above my Power to
 “ bear, protesting to your Lordship in the Faith
 “ of a Christian, such to be my present Misery, as I
 “ have not the Means, wherewith to put a good
 “ Garment on my Back, to appear in honest
 “ Company; my Horses the most part spoiled and
 “ spent, what by Accidents, and the Length of
 “ Time; and generally never suffered in my poor
 “ particular the like Extremity of Penury. If I
 “ do abuse your Lordship with a false Affirma-
 “ tion, let me receive the Punishment, that is there-
 “ unto due: but otherwise I beseech your Lordship
 “ to hear me in my just Complaint, and vouch-
 “ safe me Knowledge of your Lordship’s Pleasure,
 “ whether I shall retire myself away, or not. The
 “ Return to War doth promise worse Ef-
 “ fects than ever of a miserable Time, through
 “ the which your Lordship seeth how unable I am
 “ to wade: And therefore I most humbly and in-
 “ stantly beseech your Lordship to be pleased to
 “ have Compassion of my so great Distress; and
 “ I will in Acknowledgment perpetually serve your
 “ Lordship with my poor Prayers. And so I most
 “ humbly take my Leave. ”

One of Mr. *Edmondes's* Correspondents was *George Gilpin*, Esq; the *English* Agent at the *Hague*, who wrote to him from thence on the 29th of *December*, 1593, an Account of the Behaviour of *Monfr. Buzenval*, who was Resident from the King of *France* there, and who, says Mr. *Gilpin*, “ following his Nature, holdeth a Course, whereof
“ our honourable Friend *Sir Thomas Wylkes* gave me
“ a good while since some Notice, and appeareth,
“ that he little favoureth and accounteth of our
“ Nation, as if her Majesty had not deserved so
“ well of the King his Matter, as all the World
“ knoweth.”

The King of *France's* embracing the *Roman* Catholic Religion prov'd soon of vast Advantage to his Interest; the Cities and Great Men, who had been for the League, returning in Crouds to his Obedience, the People shewing the utmost Zeal to shake off the *Spanish* Yoke, and the City of *Paris* itself being surrender'd to him on the 22d of *March* 1594, by the Count *de Brissac*; upon which the Duke of *Feria*, who was there, was forc'd to take a Safe-Conduct from the King, to retire with the *Spanish* Troops to the Duke of *Guise's* Army (*b*). *Henry* now began seriously to resolve upon driving the *Spaniards* out of *Bretagne*; and the Marshal *d'Aumont*, who had the Management of the War there, made good Use of the *English* Troops, who distinguish'd themselves with such Bravery, that the Queen was oblig'd to write to *Sir John Norreys*, not to be so lavish of the Blood of her Subjects (*c*).

Her Majesty wrote likewise a Letter to the King of *France*, dated at *Greenwich*, *Sept.* 27, 1594 (*d*), desiring that *Morlaix*, which had been lately taken

(*b*) Thuanus, L. cix. & Davila, L. xiv. (*c*) Camden, p. 626, 627. (*d*) Sir Tho. Edmondes's MS. State-Papers, Vol. I.

14 *View of the Negotiations between*

by the Assistance of her Troops under Sir *John Norreys*, might be delivered unto them for a Place of Retreat, according to Agreement. But Marshal *d'Aumont*, in order to elude this, had inserted among the Articles of the Surrender of that Town, that none but *Roman Catholics* should be admitted into it (e).

The Lord Treasurer being curious to inform himself of the Situation of Affairs in *France*, his Son Sir *Robert Cecil* wrote, by his Order, to Mr. *Edmondes*, on the 27th of *September* 1594, "that if any Pamphlets be put in Print there, which concern'd Matters of State, he should cause some of them to be sent unto his Lordship."

Notwithstanding the important Assistance, which Queen *Elizabeth* had given to *Henry IV.* yet the Depredations, which the *English* Nation suffer'd from his Subjects, were so intolerable, that the Lord *Howard*, Lord High Admiral, wrote to Mr. *Edmondes* from the Court at *Nonfuch* on the 7th of *October* 1594, in the following Terms: "I have received your Letter of the 26th of *September*, whereby I perceive, how that the *French* both whine and bite, as the Proverb is; and complain themselves of Injustice; and yet give us far greater Cause to complain against them for the manifold Spoils done on our Nation to the Loss of 400,000 *l.* within these 8 Years; which for the present I omit, and only give Instance in particular by the inclosed of 43,444 *l.* taken within this last Year from our Nation by such, as the King esteemed to be his good Subjects at the very time of the Spoils committed."

On the 27th of that Month the Lord Treasurer wrote to Mr. *Edmondes* from his House at *Westminster*, "that her Majesty alloweth well of his re-

(e) *Camd. p.* 626.

"solute

“ solute Manner of dealing with the King there, in
 “ ascertaining him, that if he shall send no more
 “ Forces into *Britain*, to join with her Majesty’s
 “ for the Recovery of the *Spaniards* Fort at *Brest*,
 “ she hath charged Sir *John Norreys* to return.”
 And accordingly that General was recall’d not long
 after, and sent into *Ireland*, where some *Spanish*
 Officers had landed, in order raise a Rebellion
 there (f).

On the 30th of the same-Month, *October*, Sir
Robert Cecil wrote to Mr. *Edmondes* from the Court
 at *Richmond* a Letter, interlin’d in several Places by
 his Father the Lord Treasurer; in which he directs
 Mr. *Edmondes*, that whereas the King of *France* had
 heard, that the Queen had design’d to send Sir *Tho-*
mas Wylkes to *Brussels* to the Archduke *Ernest*, he
 should inform that King of the Occasion of that De-
 sign, which was as follows:

“ The Queen having Sense of the foul and dan-
 “ gerous Practices substantially proved by the Con-
 “ fession of *Lopes* * and others, resolved to destroy
 “ her Person, not knowing any way more pro-
 “ per to expostulate the barbarous Arts of the King
 “ of *Spain* in contriving and furthering of so
 “ foul an Intention to take away the Queen’s
 “ Life, as by putting him, either to avow it, or,
 “ if he would deny it, to correct the Instruments of
 “ the same, some of them inward in his secretest
 “ Counsels, as *Christophoro di Moro*; other such, as
 “ are of his Council resident in the *Low Countries*,
 “ as the Count *di Fuentes* and *Ybarra*; resolved

(f) Id. p. 628. * *Roderigo Lopes*, a Jew, and Physician
 to the Queen, and two *Portuguese*, having engag’d to poison
 her Majesty, and being detected, all confess’d, that they had
 been corrupted by the Count *de Fuentes* and *Don Diego d’Ibarra*,
 who had the Government of the *Low Countries* after the Prince
 of *Parma*’s Death, to undertake that execrable Design; and were
 afterwards executed.

“ to send some one, whom her Majesty meant
 “ should open that Matter, and the Proofs, and to
 “ to send to the Archduke for Passport for one, that
 “ should own some things concerning the King, his
 “ Uncle, in Honour; and only so with a Letter to that
 “ End sent a Gentleman to the Duke. He return-
 “ ed with a Passport in ample Form, and with a Let-
 “ ter from the Archduke, but in a gross and bare
 “ Stile, without complete Respect of giving her
 “ Majesty her usual Honour due, being a Sovereign
 “ Prince; and a Clause contained in the Letter,
 “ that her Messenger should be welcome, so he
 “ propounded nothing to the Disservice of the King
 “ of *Spain*. Hereupon her Majesty, moved with the
 “ Neglect used to her in the Form, though he
 “ gave her in the Outside barely the Name of *Royne*
 “ *d’Angleterre*, and not being sure what Liberty
 “ of Construction he would reserve, what was to
 “ the Disservice of the King or no, and *doubting that*
 “ *he would not notify the Cause to the King (g)*,
 “ hath resolved without any more dealing to cut
 “ off the Propose; and hath caused the Passport,
 “ in a Letter to Monsr. *Richardot*, one of the
 “ King’s Counsellors there with the Duke, *from*
 “ *whom the Queen’s Messenger received the Pass-*
 “ *port (b)*, to be return’d with a bare and meager
 “ Letter signed by the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of
 “ *Essex*, the Lord *Buckburgh*, Mr. Vice-Chamber-
 “ lain, and myself; wherein he is required to tell
 “ the Duke, that her Majesty, finding him to use
 “ less Respect than Kings and Emperors have
 “ formerly observed in their Writings to her, and
 “ noting, that it may be doubtful by the Liberty
 “ of his Construction reserved, how her Servant
 “ shall be used, when his Errand should be known,

(g) Interlined by Lord *Burghley*. (b) Interlined by Lord
Burghley.

“ is

“ is now resolved to send no more in this sort to deal
 “ in it, but by more public manner to declare it to
 “ the world, how far the said King is directly to be
 “ touched in that foul and wicked practice. Hereof
 “ as her Majesty verbally hath assured the [*French*]
 “ King’s Ambassador here; so her pleasure is, that
 “ as from herself you do communicate it with the
 “ King, or any other of his Council, which may
 “ have heard of it.”

The King being now determined to send Sir *Thomas Parry* Ambassador to *France*, the Lord Treasurer, on the 27th of *November*, 1594, gave Mr. *Edmondes* notice of this, and ordered him to remain still at *Paris*, without going to the King at *Lyons*, till he should hear further of Sir *Thomas Parry*.

The King of *France* being wounded by *John Chastel*, on the 17th of *December*, 1594, O. S. Mr. *Edmondes* wrote that very day an account of it to the Lord Treasurer, informing him, that the King was wounded in *Madam de Lioncourt’s* lodgings, stooping to salute *Monfr. de Montigny*, Governor of *Blois*, by a scholar of the *Jesuits* of nineteen years of age, who confessed, that he had signified to his father long before, that he designed it, in order to deliver his *Seet* of *Jesuits* of so great an enemy. And Mr. *Edmondes* observes, that “ by the
 “ circumstances it appeared he was thereunto sub-
 “ orned by them. The King, upon receiving the
 “ blow, uttered divers times, and particularly to
 “ the Marshal of *Retz*, when he came in (to whom
 “ it was well addressed) that he did owe that obli-
 “ gation to those, that had been maintainers and in-
 “ tercessors for the *Jesuits* against the proceeding of
 “ the honest party.”

This assassin, *John Chastel*, is an astonishing instance of the dreadful excesses, of which popish bigotry and enthusiasm, under the direction of a false and Jesuitical casuistry, are capable. Upon his exa-

18 *View of the Negotiations between*

mination by the parliament of *Paris*, he confessed, that he had often heard it discoursed and disputed in the schools of the *Jesuits*, in which he had been educated, that it was not only lawful, but even meritorious, to kill *Henry Bourbon*, a relapsed heretic, and persecutor of the holy Church, who falsely assumed to himself the title of King of *France*: And that having afterwards fallen into heinous and abominable sins, even to the attempting to lie with his own sisters, he fell into so great a despair of obtaining God's forgiveness, that he resolved to murder the King, which he believed to be an act of inestimable merit, to free him from the horror and punishment of his offences. He was dragged into pieces by four horses, and the *Jesuits* were banished out of *France* *; though afterwards suffered to return by *Henry IV.* himself.

The Lord Treasurer, on the 24th of *January*, 1594-5, wrote again to Mr. *Edmondes*, of Sir *Thomas Parry's* being designed Embassador to *France*; and directed him to attend the King of *France* to *Lyons*; but informed him, that he could not obtain from the Queen any greater allowance for him upon occasion of his greater expences in such a journey; and therefore advised him to write a letter to the Earl of *Effex* and himself, complaining of his necessities, and, if he *dared adventure*, one to the Queen upon the same subject. His Lordship then complains, that Mr. *Edmondes* had sent him no notice of a secret treaty between the *Trench* Court and the King of *Scots*. “ I marvel, *says he*, that you
“ could never come to the understanding of a secret
“ treaty, that hath been there during the time of the
“ Lord of *Weems* being there, by the means of
“ the Bishop of *Glasgow*, who is now known to be
“ the King of *Scots'* ordinary Embassador there;

“ who hath treated and concluded of the renovation
 “ of an ancient league between *France* and *Scotland*,
 “ and hath yielded these points hereafter following :
 “ First, that the Prince of *Scotland*, the King’s son,
 “ shall have a great pension, and a band of men at
 “ arms in *France*. Likewise that there shall be
 “ a complete * * of *Scottish* * * about the King’s
 “ person, as in ancient time hath been : And that
 “ also the Prince shall have hereafterwards a Seig-
 “ nory in *Xantoigne* ; and all *Scottish* people
 “ shall be free to traffick by sea and land in *France*,
 “ without paying any more customs than in ancient
 “ times they were wont to do ; a matter very be-
 “ neficial to all the nation, and hurtful to our
 “ merchants. These things, we hear, are agreed
 “ on, and writings thereof at this time carried into
 “ *Scotland* by the Lord of *Weems* ; and I fear the
 “ reports to be true, although I could never find
 “ from you, that you had any favour herof ; and
 “ how you may come to the knowledge hereof, I
 “ must leave that to your own discretion.”

Mr. *Edmondes* wrote an answer to this letter, dated
 at *Paris* the 17th of *February* 1594-5, in which
 again he represented his necessities, “ that he dared not
 “ take upon him the presumption to hope of better
 “ prevailing by writing himself to the Queen, fearing
 “ thereby rather to draw her Majesty’s offence upon
 “ him : And therefore must submit myself, *says he*,
 “ to the wreck of a miserable fortune, unless it will
 “ please your Lordship to favour me with your
 “ charitable mediation ; wherein, as your Lordship
 “ willed me, I have written to my Lord of *Essex*,
 “ to beseech him to be also pleased to join with your
 “ Lordship.”

With regard to the omission of sending an account
 of the great things said to be obtained by Lord
Weems, he answered, that the extreme neglect, which
 he saw daily used towards that Lord, made him

the more negligent about him; “ who, as I learn,
 “ *says he*, hath not obtained the effecting of those
 “ points, which your Lordship is informed of, but
 “ only carried a signification of the confirmation of
 “ the ancient alliance with *Scotland*, by the establish-
 “ ment whereof there is maintained from hence to
 “ King, or his son, a company of men of arms,
 “ the ordinary guards of the nation, to be maintained
 “ here about the King’s person, and the nation ge-
 “ nerally to have free course of traffick, and to be
 “ discharged of the law of *Aubaine*, as being natu-
 “ ral subjects. These I am told to be their old
 “ grants; and the reference only made to them,
 “ without any enlargement, which in effect is esteem-
 “ ed nothing. But that he hath obtained a pension,
 “ lands, and a remittal to that nation, for paying all
 “ new impositions above all other strangers, and
 “ the establishing the bishop of *Glasgow* to be that
 “ King’s Ambassador, as your Lordship hath been
 “ informed; I assure your Lordship, that he hath
 “ not so far prevailed in any of these things.

“ And now to come to a more particular dis-
 “ charging of myself, it may please your Lordship,
 “ in justice, to consider, what I am able to do, that
 “ an account should be attended of me of all great
 “ matters, since I have not a penny allowed me to
 “ give for a secret intelligence, neither able so much
 “ as to give men a meal’s meat, as others have
 “ done daily in the like kind, to captivate men’s fa-
 “ vours, and only valued myself by the insinuation
 “ of a good behaviour; in the which course I will
 “ ever apply myself in the best diligence to deserve
 “ well. And howsoever my unhappiness is to be
 “ otherwise censured, the end of the reckoning shall
 “ justify me an honest man. Besides, I beseech you
 “ also to consider (in dutiful sort let me speak it)
 “ how rare directions and instructions I have had
 “ given me to lighten my poor understanding, how
 “ to

“ to govern myself better. I confefs this far too
 “ heavy a burden for me; and fo your Lordship
 “ knoweth I have often represented to you: And
 “ God is my witnefs, that as I ever have faid it fin-
 “ cerely, fo alfo what I write herein is without
 “ thought of prefumption, in the innocent freeneff
 “ of a poor wretch, within the which line fo long
 “ as I fhall contain myself, I befeech your Lordship
 “ to vouchsafe to employ your favour towards her
 “ Majefty to have compaffion of my mifery, and
 “ particularly, that I may remain in your good opi-
 “ nion. When otherwife I fhall indirectly demean
 “ myself, I will appeal to no favour of grace.”

Thefe complaints of Queen *Elizabeth*'s immoderate
 parfimony were not at all unusual among her Mini-
 fters both at home and abroad. And it is remark-
 able, that the Lord Treasurer himfelf, in a letter ftill
 extant in the Paper-office, written in the critical year
 1588, while the *Spanish Armada* was expected againft
England, excufes himfelf to Sir *Edward Stafford*,
 then Embaffador in *France*, for not writing to him
 oftener, on account of her Majefty's unwillingnefs
 to be at the expence of meffengers. Sir *Francis*
Walsingham likewise, who ruin'd his fortune in her
 fervice, and died fo deeply in debt, that his body
 was buried privately, that it might not be arrefted
 by his creditors, when he was Embaffador at *Paris*
 in 1572, wrote on the 10th of *Auguft*, a fortnight
 before the mafacre there, to the Earl of *Leicefter**,
 defiring to be recalled, becaufe “ his charges there
 “ grew daily fo intolerable, that he was no more
 “ able to endure the weight of that burden.” And
 in his fecond embaffy to *France* in 1581, he remon-
 ftrated to the Queen herfelf, in a very ftrong man-
 ner, againft her unreafonable attention to the fpa-

* Sir *Dudley Digges*'s Complete Embaffador, p. 234. Edit.
 Lond. 1655. fol.

22 *View of the Negotiations between*

ring of charges, as pernicious to her most important interests. “ Sometimes, *says he* †, when your Majesty doth behold, in what doubtful terms you stand with foreign Princes, then you do wish with great affection, that opportunities offered had not been slipped. But when they are offered, if they be accompanied with *charges*, they are altogether neglected. . . . Remember, I humbly beseech your Majesty, *the respect of charges hath lost Scotland*: And I would to God I had no cause to think, that it *might put your Highness in peril of the loss of England*. I see it, and they stick not not to say it, that the only cause, that moveth them here [in *France*] not to weigh your Majesty’s friendship, is, for that they see your Majesty doth fly charges otherwise than by doing somewhat under-hand. It is strange, considering in what state your Majesty standeth, that in all the directions, that we have now received, we have special charge not to yield to any thing, that may be accompanied with charges. . . . Heretofore your Majesty’s predecessors, in matters of peril, did never look into the charges, when their treasure was neither so great, as your Majesty’s is, nor subjects so wealthy, nor so willing to contribute. . . . If there be peril, it is hard, that charges should be preferred before peril. I pray God the abatement of charges towards that Nobleman [George Earl of *Sbrewsbury*] that hath the custody of the bosom-serpent [Queen of *Scots*] hath not lessened his care in keeping of her. To think, that in a man of his birth and quality, after 12 years travel in a charge of such a weight, to have an abatement of an allowance, and no recompence otherwise made, should not work discontentment, no man, that hath reason, can so judge :

† Letter to the Queen, *Sept.* 2. 1581. Ibid. p. 426, 427.

“ And

“ and therefore to have so special a charge committed to a person discontented, every body seeth it standing no way with policy. What dangerous effects this loose keeping hath bred, the making away of *Morton*, the alienation of the King, and a general revolt in religion, intended only by her charges, doth shew.— If this sparing and improvident course be held still, the mischiefs approaching being so apparent as they are, &c.”

Morlant, the French Ambassador in England, returning now to France, Sir Robert Cecil, in a letter to Mr. *Edmondes* from the court at *Lambeth*, February 20, 1594-5, speaks of him with great respect, and says, “ That he doth depart with her Majesty’s good favour, as one, whose carriage here hath won himself reputation both for zeal to the King his master’s service, and honest desire to conserve all good intelligence between the two Princes, so as he shall no sooner return than be welcome.”

The King of France having declared war against Spain on the 20th of January 1594-5, N. S. (m), had recourse to Queen Elizabeth for fresh Succours, complaining, that the recalling of Sir John Norreys, with her forces, had broke all his measures. But her Majesty answered, that she commended his resolution of proclaiming war against the King of Spain, against whom she had carried on an open war in the Low Countries, Spain, Portugal, and America: That if the King of France had acted offensively against the Spaniard with the same vigour, instead of keeping himself, as he had hitherto done, upon the defensive only, Philip II. could not have injured either of them: That, as to the recalling her troops out of Bretagne, it was necessary for the defence of Ireland, where a revolt was expected; and that those troops were not obliged by treaty to con-

(m) Davila, L. xiv.

24 *View of the Negotiations between*

tinue longer in *Bretagne*, since the expulsion of the *Spaniards* out of *Brest*; and had been ill treated there, and not joined by the forces promised them: and that *Morlaix* had not been given them for a retreat, according to the agreement (n).

Henry IV. had formed a design of penetrating into the *Low Countries*, and making considerable conquests there: but he soon found himself unable to execute that scheme; for in *April 1595*, *Ferdinand de Velasco*, constable of *Castile*, entered *Franche-Comté* at the head of a considerable body of troops, and threaten'd the duchy of *Burgundy*; which obliged the King to march thither himself with the best part of his army; whilst the Count *de Fuentes*, who commanded in *Picardy* after the death of the Archduke *Ernest* at *Brussels*, *February 21, 1594-5*, N. S. entered *Picardy*, and became Master of *Catelet*; and then besieged *Dourlens*, and having defeated the *French*, who came to its Relief, took the town by storm (o). The affairs of *France* being in this distressed situation, *Monfr. Chevalier*, one of the masters of request, in *August 1595*, was sent from the Prince of *Condé*, and the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Bouillon*, and the city of *Paris*, to *England*, where he arrived on the 19th of that month, with a melancholy account of the loss of *Dourlens*; and that *Cambray* itself was held for lost, there being no means of succouring it, and the town itself willing enough to leave the *French* Government. *Monfr. Chevalier* therefore requested an aid of four thousand foot, to be paid by the city of *Paris*, who should give security for that purpose (p). A council was held upon this, and the request would immediately have been granted, *if we were sure*, says *Mr. Lake*, then clerk of the Signet, to

(n) Camden, p. 639.

(o) Thuanus, L. xii. & Davila,

L. xiv. (p) See a letter of *Mr. Thomas Lake* to *Sir Robert Sidney*, dated at *Nonfuch*, *Aug. 22, 1595*, printed among the letters of the *Sidney* family, Vol. 1. p. 344.

have some of our old footing in Picardy for a place of retreat, or in pawn. I think it will be moved, and some hope that need will make it be done, if the governour binder not, with whom some traffick will be had (q). In the instructions given to Monsr. Chevalier, he was ordered to request, that the supply demanded might be sent to *Picardy* within fifteen days after the date of these instructions. But he had spent twelve days in his voyage; so that only three days remained for raising and transporting the soldiers; who were enlisted without delay, in order to be sent, if there was occasion, to *Calais*, *Boulogne*, *Dieppe*, and the towns on the sea-coast; and this was immediately signified to the King of France by Sir Roger Williams, and to the governors of those towns. That King's counsellors in *Bretagne* pressed likewise by letters, that a supply might be sent thither; but as they specified neither the number nor service, nor offered any place for a retreat, no particular answer could be given to them (r).

Henry wrote a letter to Monsr. de la Fontaine*, dated at Lyons, September 23, 1595, N. S. a Copy of which was transmitted by Sir Robert Cecil to

(q) Ibid.

(r) Camden, p. 640.

* This gentleman was probably the preacher of the French church in London, mentioned by Mr. Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, Vol. IV. N°. ccxci. p. 394. for it is evident that he was a divine, from the following passage in a MS. letter to Mr. Robert Naunton, afterwards secretary of state to the Earl of Essex, from Paris, November 28th, 1597. O. S. "This Mixture of mongrel divinity and policy seems to be ingendered of the late congresses and alliances between the daughters of men and the sons of God: I mean *la Fontaine*, their [the French] grand Politico and Prophet. It is a stirring age, likely to follow, when our Prophets and the sons of Prophets become matters of policy, to quit *Moses* for *Machiavel*, and turn their zeal into practice. of state."

26 *View of the Negotiations between*

Mr. *Edmondes*, on the 8th of *October* 1595 (s). In this letter the King complained, that he found a diminution in the Queen's good-will towards him, which he imputed either to the Council about her Majesty; or that herself was either delighted in his ruin, or would force him to an agreement with those, who had conspired both their mischiefs: That her Majesty, knowing the malice of the common enemy, would shew too much stupidity, if she should be secure of his practices, or have any conceit of his reconciliation. The King then justified himself, and expostulated with the Queen and his allies, declaring, that, notwithstanding all artifices, his truth and sincerity had never been wanting to his friends; but that he must either of necessity lose his kingdom, or make an accord, holding it more advantageous and more honourable to compound with his enemies, than to purchase his friends too dear. He next mentioned his doubt of *Boulogne*, his loss in *Franche-Comté*, and the danger of *Bretagne*; and concluded with desiring, that the States General might be forborn, with regard to the demand of the repayment of the money lent them by the Queen.

In the beginning of *October*, after the taking of *Cambray* by the Count *de Fuentes*, he sent likewise to the Queen Monsr. *L'Omenie*, a secretary of his chamber, who came over to *England* with Sir *Roger Williams* (t). The substance of his message was to acquaint the Queen, that the King had received his absolution, there being deputed four Cardinals to give it him with the proper solemnity; but that their chief business was to draw him to a peace with *Spain*, and to unite against all, who were divided from

(s) Sir *Thomas Edmondes's* M. S. State Papers, Vol. 1.

(t) Mr. *Lake's* letter to Sir *Robert Sidney*, from *Stepney*, 9th of *October*, 1595. Letters of the *Sidney* family, 'Vol. 1. p. 354.

the Church: That he was assured to receive for
 himself honourable conditions; but, knowing that
 he should be solicited to separate from her Majesty,
 and the *Low Countries*, he desired to be supported
 by her with a conjunction of their forces, that he
 might not be compelled to such a peace, as he would
 not willingly make, but such as might comprehend
 them all in such terms, as, holding always together,
 they might be a balance against the *Spanish* greatness:
 but that, if she refused him in this point, he must
 provide for himself as he might. "These letters,
 adds Mr. *Lake*, "delivered with very stout speeches,
 "have greatly offended the Queen, who careth not
 "to be terrified. The Gentleman is dispatched
 "without any hope of relief from hence; so as you
 "may guess what will follow. He hath withal ad-
 "vertised her Majesty, by his letters to this effect,
 "that if she be not well informed of the prepara-
 "tions and intentions against her, she is either
 "abused or betrayed: which being by some taken
 "or meant to themselves, hath moved the more
 "choler. He desired a conference to be had be-
 "tween the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Bouillon*, whom
 "he would send to *Calais* or *Boulogne*, and some of
 "the Queen's council; which is denied. But that,
 "which I would let you know, is, that he hath
 "written very roundly, to require the Queen to
 "forbear the calling for her money from the States,
 "as a thing far out of season; and hath spoken
 "plainly to Sir *Roger Williams*, that these countries
 "love not the Queen; and that he doth assure him-
 "self, that whensoever he shall enter into treaty
 "with *Spain*, he can dispose of them as he shall
 "think good, and that they will turn his course;
 "and that of late they have required him not to
 "forget them. Whether this be well grounded,
 "or spoken only of boast, you may guess; and I
 "think,

28 *View of the Negotiations betw.*

" think, will not be amiss for you (v) to
 " eye unto; for if all be true, that hath been
 " alleged by the *French* Gentleman, upon his re-
 " turn, the King is like to frame his drift another
 " way."

The Queen, after *L'Omenie's* departure, wrote a long letter to Mr. *Edmondes*, which he was ordered to translate into *French*, and read to the King of *France*, which he did on the 30th of *November* 1595, in the camp before *La Fere*. In this letter (w), dated the 12th of that month, her Majesty observed, that she had seen a long and very pressing letter, consisting of several heads, written on the part of the most Christian King to the *Sieur de la Fontaine*: and since that, there came from that King a Secretary of his, sent expressly to treat with her Majesty by word of mouth, and more amply upon the same subject in general, but differently as to particulars. For whereas the principal point of the letter was only to obtain succours for the city of *Cambray*, the *Sieur de L'Omenie* brought her Majesty an account of the loss of that place. And therefore to all the arguments urged upon that subject her Majesty had no occasion to make any other answer than this, that, next to the King himself, no person felt more concern than her Majesty, to see, that his journey had been attended with so great a misfortune, as the loss of so important a city. And as the *Sieur de L'Omenie* had intimated, that if the King had not been denied his request by her Majesty, that city would not have been lost; her Majesty could not pass over that point without an answer. For when the King's council demanded her Majesty's forces to be sent within twenty days; besides that it was thought, that the forces could not arrive within that space without

(v) Sir Robert Sidney was Governor of *Flushing*.

(w) Sir Thomas Edmond's MS. State Papers, Vol. 1.

very

great difficulties, so it seemed not consistent her Majesty's honour, nor the safety of her ts, to send them over unseasonably to a place, which the King was at so great a distance, and was so much exposed to the excursions of the y's army, and where the flower of the King's s, which were to join her Majesty's, had been conducted, without evidently exposing them inevitable disgrace and danger. Upon this ication, if her Majesty's most dear Brother, knew very well to distinguish between the pas- of particular persons well or ill disposed) would his judgment, and not upon the discourses of artful men, who were with him, he would have reason to call in question her Majesty's inviolable tancy, much less to conceive, that she would e to any advice, which might be prejudicial to his e, if any such advice should be offered her; nor nit any person to presume to shew himself of a ous, envious disposition, or to attempt any tices opposite to the King's prosperity, whose piness her Majesty thought to be absolutely con- ted with her own. In answer to that point of his r, wherein he says, that he had occasion to fear, her Majesty took pleasure in his destruction, or that she was desirous of forcing him to agree s those who had conspired the ruin of them both; s regard to the first, her Majesty had no need to any other apology, than the proof which she had n before of her friendship towards him: and s respect to the second, that though she should act otherwise for his sake, yet she would not do or her own.

As for what is said afterwards, that her Majesty s chargeable with lukewarmness, if she did not lustriously oppose the inveterate malice of the nmon enemy; she thought that imputation ought to be cast upon her, than upon all the other

Princes

Princes of *Europe*, she having, ever since she had incurred his hatred (by only endeavouring to preserve her allies and neighbours from his tyranny and ambition), never ceased to weaken him both by sea and land, and diverted his designs against her allies; and before and since his proud fleet was defeated on the *English* coast, by the favour of God, and the valour of her subjects, given him little occasion of boasting of his new conquests: in which respect, if the other powers had acquitted themselves with the same diligence and resolution, he would not have had so much leisure and means of employing himself to the prejudice of others. Besides, since it is asserted in that letter, that umbrage had been given the King, and that her Majesty called in question the sincerity and constancy of his friendship, or was even jealous of his prosperity; Mr. *Edmondes* might assure him, by the word and faith of a Prince, that her Majesty never had so pusillanimous an heart, as to entertain so mean a thought, but acknowledged his virtue, and was satisfied of his integrity; believing, according to the measure of her own good disposition towards him, that nothing was more certain upon earth, than that she held the first place in his friendship, before any other Prince, in return for the affection shewn by her Majesty towards him.

But since the King in his letter justifies all his proceedings, and complains at the same time of others, who have not assisted him; though her Majesty had never mistrusted him, nor entered into any question with him, except when he did not sufficiently attend to his own greatness; yet her Majesty instructs Mr. *Edmondes*, as the King had done the *Sieur de la Fontaine*, with what was proper for every person to represent in their defence; which she hoped he would hear with the same patience, and favourable interpretation, as she had received, and always should receive, his letters and messages.

And

And that it might not be thought, that her Majesty, under the pretext of justifying herself, would revive the memory of her services, either in the name of the late King his predecessor, or since his own accession to the throne, in the case of *Dieppe*, *Paris*, and *Rouen*, and in *Bretagne*, for a long space of time; the thing being notorious enough of itself; she would only begin by the last service at *Brest*, to which the enemy pretended a title, not founded merely on ambition, and had by his own forces, without making use of those of the League, rendered himself master of the first havens of the kingdom. Upon this occasion, though her Majesty had in hand several other designs of honour and advantage, she consented for the King's service to employ her forces both by sea and land, to drive the enemy from thence, and had such success, that the place was retaken and demolished. However, Mr. *Edmondes* was ordered to represent seriously to the King, that as her Majesty found, that according to the natural disposition of a Prince and Father of the people, he pursued some things, and passed over others, even against his own inclination, in order to satisfy the public, and provide for the security of his subjects; so he would likewise think it necessary for her Majesty (considering that the love of the people is the greatest riches of all Princes) to endeavour by all ways, both interior and exterior, to shew her desire to preserve them, and not to expose them to all kinds of danger; of whose desire and zeal to obey her if the loyalty, valour, and faith of a people could give full assurance, no Prince ever was more obliged to God, than her Majesty was, for such an happiness; of which no person could give a better testimony than the King and his kingdom, in which there were so many memorials of their blood faithfully and freely shed in his service; all which her Majesty thought well spent, and would not cease this course, if the

lamentations

32 *View of the Negotiations between*

lamentations of mothers, infants, and relations, did not call upon her for some respite and relaxation. Besides, that she was advertised by the King himself (if she had not known it otherwise), that all *Europe* had the alarm of an invasion pretended to be designed against her; so that if the King would weigh all circumstances with a just and not partial consideration, and recollect past services, to fortify himself against those, who were desirous to detract from her Majesty's honour, he could not but think her reasons just for desiring to be spared for a time; and after that she did not doubt, but that in his first letter he would write to her in another style; her Majesty assuring herself, that, notwithstanding some persons, ill-affected to her, and her estate, might make use of this to prejudice their friendship, or rather under other hopes to foment their own artful views, which had no other end than their ambitious and factious designs; yet all good *Frenchmen*, truly noble, and affectionate to his service, would clearly see, that this is the way to embroil, when malice can no otherwise hurt a well-united friendship; and to separate them from each other, in order to ruin them both. Her Majesty knew likewise, that their enemies would readily employ themselves in the practices of alienating from them the hearts of their best subjects, in order to verify the false positions of, their libels, by which they endeavour to possess the world with scandalous hopes of great discontentments in their kingdoms, in order to procure their enemies to engage with the desires and views of fugitives and rebels, who would be dissatisfied with even an Angel, if he were given them for their governor. But as her Majesty had no room to fear, through God's mercy, their malice and folly, her country being very free from such a general infection; so on the other hand, it imported her to be vigilant to remove all such occasions, by using moderately their lives and

and fortunes : for what else can be expected from natural men, than great and sudden alienations, when they see, that their duty is rewarded with a perpetual succession of miseries, and that their valour only purchases their ruin ?

Moreover, as the *Sieur de la Fontaine* has declared, with more eagerness, as her Majesty believed, than the King commanded him to use, that if she did not assist him at present, it would only be for want of will ; and that it was to be apprehended, that the King might be obliged to agree with the common enemy, without comprehending her Majesty in the treaty ; her Majesty ascribed this language rather to the warmth of his zeal for the service of his master (which she could well digest), than suffered herself to be disturbed with the thought, that the King's honour, and so many vows on his part, and so many services on that of her Majesty, could admit so odious and dangerous a resolution. And yet if this point be promoted by any of his Ministers (for her Majesty does not believe, that this arises from the King himself, in order to awaken her Majesty the more) it is certainly the thing, which will have the least effect upon her : for it is only zeal and affection, which have hitherto carried her so far ; and she is firmly persuaded, that it is impossible for him to approve of that in himself, which, she assures herself, he would think odious and dishonourable in another. And if it should so happen, that he should be drawn into such a step by any ill practice upon him, her Majesty would think herself sufficiently supported by the providence of that God, who knows the integrity of her heart towards him, and has known, and still knows, how to defend her from the greatest dangers.

Mr. *Edmondes* was then directed, after having communicated to the King her Majesty's great concern for the extremity of his affairs, and that there

D

should

34 *View of the Negotiations between*

should be the least report of any misunderstanding between them; and after having, by that sincerity of proceeding with the King, obviated the artifices of her enemies (who had always taken advantage of his necessities); that he should add further, that though her Majesty knew, that the taking of two such important places by the enemy in his absence had wonderfully raised their spirits; yet she hoped, from the experience of the King's valour and prudence, that, having now reduced almost all the great men, and most of the cities of his kingdom, to his obedience, and being now himself present, in a condition of putting his provinces in order, and assisting his afflicted people, he would have the means, as before, of subsisting for some little time, if not to recover, at least to preserve himself, till it should appear where, and in what manner, this now pretended glorious invasion should be attempted: And, when her Majesty should discover more clearly the enemy's designs (having as much reason to suspect their attempts in winter as in summer,) she would be ready to advise with the King, and to assist him, as far as the state of her affairs would permit.

That, lastly, whereas the King had intimated to her Majesty, that he was of opinion, that deputies should be appointed on both sides, to confer together concerning the means of joining their forces, in order to oppose the common enemy; her Majesty could not but take this in very good part, as coming from him, with whom she was united in the same fortune. But since, for the present (considering the great preparatives, which she had been obliged to make at sea, to match those of her enemies, and how much the war in *Ireland* likewise distracted her) her affairs would not permit her to engage further in the war, than what she had already done in the expedition to the *Indies*, but forced her to keep her people in her own kingdom for the defence

fence of it; for this reason she desired to defer this deputation for some time, rather than enter upon so open a treaty, the success of which would not answer the expectation of the world. But if the King should have any disposition in himself at any time, or if any overture should be made to him for a general peace of *Christendom*; her Majesty, being joined with him and her other confederates, upon equal conditions, would not refuse to enter into any honourable treaty, or good consultation, when the time was proper for the one, or the other; having regard likewise to the reparation of past injuries, where honour should require it: And in such case her Majesty promised herself, that the King would do for her as he would for himself, from whom she would never separate herself in any manner whatsoever. Such was her Majesty's resolution; and she hoped, that he had on his part the same disposition towards her and her kingdom. And as, not long ago, upon the alarm of the enemy's design to besiege some of his maritime towns, *Dieppe, Boulogne, or Calais*, her Majesty caused a considerable number of her forces to be ready to succour them immediately, even at a time, when, being employed in suppressing her rebels in *Ireland*, who had been practised upon by the *Spaniard*, she had good reason to turn her attention elsewhere; and as for that purpose she had reinforced her fleet at sea with the utmost expedition, notwithstanding her other preparations for the *Indies*; so he might assure himself, that if it should happen, that the enemy should attempt any place, to which her Majesty might have access by sea, he should receive immediate assistance from her; and neither the expence nor danger should divert her from it. And though, for the reasons above-mentioned, her Majesty deferred sending any person to the King at present, in order to enter into a public treaty; yet she had resolved to send in a short time to him some person of quality,

36 *View of the Negotiations between*

and good experience, to communicate amply and freely with him upon all things : And though this would not have such an appearance as a public convention, yet affairs might be as well conducted and determined by this way, as by the other of greater expectation.

The King, upon hearing this letter read, answered, (x) “ That he was not able alone to sustain the
 “ burden of the war, for such reasons, as are too
 “ true, and too well known to all men ; and that
 “ he would consult with the Princes and Officers of
 “ his Crown, what he was to resolve on ; wherein
 “ if necessity shall force him to change course, as
 “ the fault thereof shall not be his, so her Majesty,
 “ for her part, instead of excuses and justifications,
 “ shall only have cause afterwards of sorrow.”

Mr. *Edmondes*, in his letter to the Lord Treasurer from *La Fere*, on the 20th of *December 1595*, informs his Lordship, that the King of *France* denied the article published in the *Gazette in Italy*, in which it was affirmed, that he had, by his Ambassador at *Rome*, engaged to the Pope to declare himself an enemy to the Queen. To this letter is subjoined the following remarkable Postscript :

“ I had closed up this letter, when the King sent
 “ for me, and acquainted me with letters, which
 “ he hath freshly received from his Ambassador at
 “ *Venice*, which import, that there is lately arrived
 “ there one, that affirmeth to be dispatched from
 “ the King of *Scots* to the *Pope*, the *Venetians*, and
 “ the Duke of *Florence*, who addressed himself secretly to him, and, saying to have charge to require the assistance of his favour in his negotiation, declared to him, on the said King’s behalf, that, by reason of the two great factions of *English* and *Spanish*, which reign in his Realm, and fearing most her Majesty’s (which is the greater), and the

(x) Sir *Tho. Edmondes*’s MS. State-Papers, Vol. I.

“ great

“ great hate ſhe beareth him, he is forced to the ex-
 “ tremity, that he muſt needs declare himſelf either
 “ with or againſt the King of *Spain*: That the ſaid
 “ King of *Spain* is alſo as ſuſpected to him, leſt, if
 “ joining with him, and ſerving himſelf of his means
 “ for his aſſiſtance, he ſhould ſeek footing in *Scot-*
 “ *land*, to facilitate his more eaſy conquering after-
 “ wards of *England*, which could not be but of
 “ perilous conſequence to all *Chriſtendom*: and to
 “ declare himſelf againſt him, that he durſt not,
 “ without being ſuccoured by other Princes; offer-
 “ ing in ſuch regard to enter into common league
 “ with them, either againſt her Maſteſty, or the King
 “ of *Spain*, and to ~~make~~ *himſelf a Catholic*; but
 “ praying, that it might be kept ſecret, until the answer
 “ received of the ſaid Princes; for that otherwiſe, if
 “ it ſhould come to the knowledge of her Maſteſty,
 “ or the King of *Spain*, it would be his ruin. He
 “ deſired him therefore to addreſs him to ſuch of
 “ the States, with whom he might deal with con-
 “ fidence in that matter, which he ſaith to have done,
 “ and to have directed him to certain of the ſecret
 “ Council, who, upon the hearing of his propoſi-
 “ tion, demanded of him for his letters of credit;
 “ whereunto he made them answer, that, in reſpect
 “ of being a matter of ſo great peril to his maſter, he
 “ durſt not deliver them, unleſs he might be firſt aſſu-
 “ red that they would entertain the ſaid motion. To
 “ the which the ſaid Counſellors replied, that they
 “ would be content to pleaſure the ſaid King for
 “ his particular in what they might; but that they
 “ deſired to maintain their antient amities. Where-
 “ upon, ſeeing no hope of further profiting, he de-
 “ parted from thence to *Rome*. The King told me,
 “ that altho’ he do conceive it to be only a ſubor-
 “ nation of the *Jefuits*, yet, notwithstanding that,
 “ he thought it not impertinent to acquaint her
 “ Maſteſty therewith; but that ſhe might make ſuch

38 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ profit thereof as it merited, and he not fail to acquit himself of the least good office towards her.”

This letter will give some light to one of Cardinal d’Ossat to Monfr. de Villeroy, dated from Rome the last of February 1595-6, N. S. from which it will be proper to insert here an extract, the length of which will be excused by the importance of the subject, and the known abilities of the writer. “ It is true, says he (a), that the Scotsman, whom you mention, is come hither, and has treated with the Pope by means of Cardinal Aldobrandini. I cannot inform you exactly of the subject and issue of his negotiation; but I think I am not mistaken in believing, that he came hither with a view to engage the Pope, under the usual pretext of the Catholic Religion, to favour, by his authority and assistance, some design, which those, who have sent him, have in those countries. Concerning which design, and of those, who have sent him, two opinions have come into my mind, founded upon certain conjectures. I shall propose to you here these two opinions, in order to enable you to discover yourself the truth of the affair, by the knowledge, which you have otherwise, and may still have more fully hereafter, of the situation of things in Scotland. The first opinion is, that the King of Scotland may possibly have sent him, or rather certain Catholics of Scotland, his servants, with his knowledge and consent; for he has not brought any letters from the King, that we know of. And if it was the King, or his Catholic servants, who have sent him, it is probable, that their design was of this kind: The King of Scotland, upon the pretensions, which he has, aspires to the Crown of England after the death of the

(a) Lettres de Cardinal d’Ossat, L. ii. p. 190, & seq. Edit. Paris, 1627.

“ Queen;

“ Queen, in which he foresees on the one hand,
 “ that the Privy-Council, and other Heretics of
 “ *England*, may oppose him, for fear of his re-
 “ venging upon them the death of the late Queen his
 “ mother : And, on the other hand, that he being
 “ of a religion contrary to the Catholics, the Catho-
 “ lics will not trust him ; and that the Pope, in
 “ case of the death of the Queen of *England*,
 “ may cast a great obstacle in his way, and even
 “ before that event shall happen, declare him ex-
 “ communicate, and deprived, both of his own
 “ kingdom of *Scotland*, and of the right of succe-
 “ ssion to that of *England* ; as there are some,
 “ who affirm they know, that the King of *Spain*
 “ (who, besides his aspiring to the monarchy of
 “ *Christendom*, pretends likewise particularly to the
 “ kingdom of *England*, in virtue of a certain pre-
 “ tended donation made to him by Queen *Mary* his
 “ wife a little before her death) endeavoured to pro-
 “ cure such a declaration against the King of *Scot-*
 “ *land* in the time of *Sixtus V.* by means of Car-
 “ dinal *Allen*, and an *Englishman* nam’d *Hugh Ven*,
 “ whom the said King of *Spain* sent then to *Rome*
 “ expressly to solicit it ; which that King caused to
 “ be done, not so much with a view to exclude the
 “ King of *Scotland* from the Kingdom of *England*,
 “ as to have a pretence of invading *Scotland* itself
 “ in the mean time, by which way the *Spaniards*
 “ thought it necessary to attack *England*, which
 “ could not otherwise be so easily entered by an ar-
 “ my. It may be therefore, that the King of *Scot-*
 “ *land*, having these apprehensions, as, it is said, he
 “ is extremely fearful, may have begun already to
 “ endeavour to procure the favour of the Catholics,
 “ by means of whom he hopes to be assisted, and
 “ advanced to the Crown of *England*, rather than
 “ by the Heretics ; and have let the Pope know,
 “ that he is willing to become a Catholic, and is se-

“ already in his heart ; and desires, at a proper time,
 “ to restore the Catholic religion, not only in *Scot-*
 “ *land*, but likewise in *England* ; and begs his Ho-
 “ liness to afford him his good advice and counsel
 “ upon that subject ; and may have used such other
 “ representations, as may be serviceable to his design,
 “ and to his hopes of preventing, by that means,
 “ any thing, which the Pope may determine or do
 “ against him ; and even procuring his Holiness to
 “ be favourable to him. This *Scotsman* therefore
 “ may actually have been sent by that King, or his
 “ servants, for this purpose : and this is the first of
 “ our two opinions. The second is, that this *Scots-*
 “ *man* is not sent by that King, or his servants, tho’
 “ he has affirmed it where he thought he should be
 “ better received on that account ; but by some
 “ Catholic Noblemen of that *Scotland*, who are dis-
 “ contented with the King, and, under pretence of
 “ promoting the Catholic religion, are desirous of
 “ taking their revenge of him, and of those who are
 “ nearest him, at the expence of the Pope, and of
 “ the Holy See, and even of the Religion itself,
 “ which they assume the pretence of. These Ca-
 “ tholic Noblemen, besides the Earl of *Botbwell*,
 “ may be the Earls of *Angus*, *Aibole*, and *Huntley*,
 “ who were condemned by the States of *Scotland*
 “ for having conspired against the Crown, and carried
 “ on a correspondence with the King of *Spain*, and
 “ afterwards appeared publicly in arms against their
 “ King. We have some conjecture, that this *Scots-*
 “ *man* here desires the Pope to issue out a Moni-
 “ tory, injoining the King of *Scotland* to permit to
 “ the Catholics the free exercise of the Catholic re-
 “ ligion, in the same manner as the Heretics enjoy
 “ theirs ; and threatening, in case he does not grant
 “ this, to excommunicate him, and to give the
 “ Kingdom of *Scotland* to the first, who shall seize
 “ it, and to deprive that King of all right of succe-
 “ sion

“ sion to the Crown of *England*. And because the
 “ event of such censures has been very unfortunate
 “ with respect to the affairs of *France*, and the Pope
 “ has no inclination to things hazardous and dan-
 “ gerous, the said *Scotsman* gives him to understand,
 “ that the King of *Scotland* not only will not be of-
 “ fended with such a Monitory, but will even be
 “ glad of it, as having already himself a desire of
 “ restore the Catholic religion in his Kingdom, and
 “ giving this pledge of his good disposition towards
 “ his Holiness, and this satisfaction to the Catholics,
 “ not only of *Scotland*, but likewise of *England*,
 “ who are said to be very numerous both without
 “ and within that Kingdom, and of whom he hopes
 “ to receive one day favour and assistance. Besides,
 “ the King of *Scotland* is desirous of making use of
 “ such a Monitory and Commination, as an excuse
 “ with respect to the Heretics, to whom he may al-
 “ lege, that he is obliged to allow the Catholics
 “ the free exercise of their religion, for fear the Pope
 “ should fulminate against him an excommunica-
 “ tion, with a deprivation of his Kingdom, and of
 “ his right to that of *England*. We are likewise
 “ told, that this *Scotsman*, after having treated here,
 “ is gone to *Naples*; which shews, that though he
 “ should be gone thither only to see that city and
 “ country, yet in so suspicious a time, in which a
 “ stranger has reason to apprehend every thing,
 “ he is not at all in fear of the *Spaniards*, by whose
 “ instigation all this may be done, that they may
 “ have a colour for invading *Scotland*, in order to
 “ open a way for themselves to the conquest of
 “ *England*, and by this means attack the Kingdom
 “ of *France* on all sides. Add to this, that there
 “ has been here, for some time past, a *Scots* Jesuit,
 “ named Father *Gordon*, who is uncle to the Earl of
 “ *Hunsley* above-mentioned, and was in *Scotland*
 “ with that Earl the last time he took up arms against
 “ the

42 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ the King two years ago, and spent there for him ten
 “ thousand crowns, which the Pope sent to him from
 “ the *Low Countries* by the *Sieur de Malvaissie*, his
 “ Commissary and Nuncio at *Brussels*, whom we
 “ know otherwise to have held a great correspondence
 “ with the above-mentioned Earls, and the said Fa-
 “ ther *Gordon* the Jesuit: So that the sending
 “ of this *Scotsman* may be a consequence of the
 “ schemes carried on between them at that time at
 “ *Brussels* among the *Spaniards*, and yet in some
 “ measure disguised, according to the change in the
 “ situation of things since; and the disposition of the
 “ Pope. In fine, of these two opinions I incline
 “ most to the latter; but refer myself to what
 “ you shall judge upon much better grounds from
 “ the knowledge, which you have of the course of
 “ things in *Scotland*. Much may be said for either
 “ of them: and to both the parties the contrary of
 “ what they seek may fall out, as has happened in
 “ *France*. However, upon occasion of the succeſs
 “ sion to the Crown of *England*, I shall remind you
 “ of a point, which you know much better, and
 “ which notwithstanding I cannot omit. It is this;
 “ that as it would be extremely unseasonable for us,
 “ in our present situation, if the Queen of *England*
 “ should happen to die, and the King be over-
 “ burdened with new affairs, which he could not
 “ conveniently either attend or omit; so it would not
 “ be a thing to be wished, for the sake of the re-
 “ pose and grandeur of *France*, that the Kingdoms
 “ of *England* and *Scotland* should be united in the
 “ person of one and the same King, since the
 “ Kings of *England* alone have, in past times, dis-
 “ turbed *France* more severely, and for a longer
 “ space, than all the other foreign Kings together.
 “ And it would be much less for the interest of
 “ *France*, that this conjunction and union of these
 “ two Kingdoms should be made in the person of
 “ the

“ the present King of *Scotland*; as, on the one
 “ hand, he is allied to one of the greatest Kings of
 “ the North, and, on the other, is so nearly related
 “ to the house of *Lorrain*, which has occasioned so
 “ much trouble to our Kings, and the whole Royal
 “ Family, and many evils and miseries to *France*;
 “ and has not yet absolutely ceased to do so, but still
 “ continues so formidable in the Kingdom.”

What was the issue of the negotiation of this supposed agent of the King of *Scots*, does not appear; but we find in Sir *Ralph Winwood's Memorials* *, a remarkable paper in *Spanish*, intitled, *Suma de las Memoriales, &c. i. e. A Summary of the Memorials, which John Ogleby, a Scots Baron, Envoy from the King of Scotland to his Catholic Majesty, for promoting a League between the two Kings, and of what John Cecil, an English priest, on behalf of the Earls, and other Catholic Lords of Scotland, preferred in opposition to the same, at the City of Toledo, in the months of May and June 1596.*

Ogleby, in *May* that year, arrived in *Spain* from *Rome*, declaring, that he was sent by the King of *Scotland*, with a commission to treat of friendship, a league, and confederacy between that King and the King of *Spain*; and that the King of *Scotland* would become a Catholic, and enter into a confederacy with the Pope and his Catholic Majesty against Queen *Elizabeth*; and he produced letters of trust and credence of the King of *Scotland*, with the reasons, which induced that King to be reconciled to the See of *Rome*, and to enter into a confederacy with *Spain*. This negotiation is mentioned in a letter of Sir *Henry Neville*, Ambassador in *France*, to Secretary *Cecil*, dated at *Paris* 27 *June* 1599 †: and the same Gentleman, in a letter of the 26th of *May* the same year §, observes, that he had been

* Vol. I. p. 1, & seq.

† Ibid. p. 52.

§ Ibid. p. 37.

44 *View of the Negotiations between*

informed by the Lord *Weemes*, that the Lord *Hume* was just come to *Paris*, in his way to *Rome*, employed to the Pope from the King of Scots'; of whom, adds Sir Henry, he also delivered me very many suspicions; as if he declined altogether in religion, and began to entertain strait intelligence with the Popish side and Princes.

Queen *Elizabeth* was now resolved to send Sir *Henry Unton* Ambassador to the King of *France*, in order to divert him from making peace with *Spain*; which by his own answer, and Mr. *Edmondes's* letters, and by other conjectures, it appeared he was likely to do, the Pope endeavouring with great earnestness to engage him to it; and almost all "his Council discovering, says Mr. Lake (b), no good conceit of our amity. I know not yet what will be the success of his journey, nor what we shall offer him, sufficient to divert him from any other way, whereby he may come to the quiet possession of his kingdom. The cunning of Princes is great, and cannot be discerned by every countenance: But, if he be indeed in hope of a peace upon any reasonable condition, I do not see what we are able to offer and perform, that may encourage him to continue the war."

The Lord Treasurer sent a letter to Mr. *Edmondes* by Sir *Henry Unton*, dated from *Richmond*, December 23d, 1595 (c), in which he informed him how well her Majesty had allowed of his service, and I doubt not, adds he, but when her pleasure shall be to revoke you, and to appoint you to return home, she will have a princely regard and consideration thereof."

(b) Letter to Sir Robert Sydney from *Richmond*, December 1595. Letters of the Sydney family, Vol. I. p. 378. (c) Sir *Edm. Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. I.

Sir *Henry Unton* went immediately upon his Embassy to *France*, where he continued in that employment until the day of his death, which happened in the *French* King's camp before *La Fere*, on the 23d of *March* 1595-6 (*d*). He was son of Sir *Edward Unton*, of *Wadley* in the county of *Oxford* Knight of the *Bath*, by *Anne*, daughter of *Edward Seymour* Duke of *Somerset*, and Protector of *England* (*e*). He had been Ambassador in *France* before in the year 1591; and left an account of his Embassy from *July* 13th that year to *June* 12th 1592, which is extant in manuscript in the *Bodleian* library.

Mr. *Edmondes*, on the 17th of *May* 1596, had a grant of the office of Secretary to her Majesty for the *French* tongue, in consideration of the faithful and acceptable service heretofore done by him*. But there are no letters of him during the course of that year, in which Cardinal *Albert* of *Austria*, who had succeeded his brother *Ernest* in the government of the *Low Countries*, having thrown supplies into *La Fere*, which was besieged by the *French* King, and having invested *Calais*, that King sent *Nicolas de Harlay* Baron de *Sancy* into *England*, to demand succours. The Duke de *Bouillon* soon followed him, and so pressed the Queen, that she ordered eight thousand men to be ready under the command of the Earl of *Essex*. But she required, in case the siege of *Calais* was raised by the *English*, that the town should be delivered to them, since it was in effect lost to *France*. The Duke and Monfr. de *Sancy* waved this demand, by saying, they had no instructions upon that subject; and, under pretence, that the relief of that place was too pressing to allow time to discuss that proposal, they so managed, that the Queen gave orders for the embarkation of the troops.

(*d*) *Wood*, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 283. 2d Edit. (*e*) *Collins's* Peerage of *England*, Vol. I: p. 44. 2d Edit.

* *Rymer*, Vol. xvi. p. 290.

46 *View of the Negotiations between*

But at the same time news came, that *Calais* was taken on the 24th of *April* 1596, *N. S.* after a resistance of but 12 days. The Archduke then made himself master of *Ardres* with the same ease; which was the sixth place taken from *France* by the *Spaniards* within a year. The succours designed by Queen *Elizabeth* for *Calais* not having been ready in time, the new-levied troops were dismissed; but her Majesty lent money to the *French* King on the security of his two Embassadors (f).

In the mean time her Majesty being informed, that the King of *Spain* was preparing to invade *England* and *Ireland*, resolved to prevent him; and for that purpose sent a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, with two-and-twenty *Dutch* ships, and seven thousand soldiers, under the command of the Lord *Howard* as Admiral, and the Earl of *Essex* as General, against *Cadiz*, which they took on the 21st of *June* 1596, and burnt the *Spanish* fleet there (g). The King of *Spain*, in revenge for this loss and disgrace, prepared a fleet to attack *England* and *Ireland*; but, meeting with storms, great part of the ships perished, and the design was defeated (h).

However, the Queen thought proper to fortify all the sea-coasts, by repairing the castles there, and entered into a new treaty offensive and defensive with the *French* King, which was negotiated with her by the Duke de *Bouillon* and Monsr. de *Harlay Sancy*. The principal articles of this Treaty were, that the Queen should furnish 4000 men for the defence of *Picardy* and *Normandy*; that the *French* King, in case the Queen was invaded, should find the like number for the defence of *England*, not to serve above fifty miles from the sea; that neither of the

(f) Camden, p. 666. Thuanus, L. cxvi. Davila, L. xv. & Meteren, L. xviii. & Marfolier Histoire de Duc de Bouillon, L. iv, v. (g) Camden, p. 666-674. (h) Id. p. 676, 677.

two Crowns should make a peace without the consent of the other. By a secret article it was agreed, that the Queen should this year furnish no more than two thousand men. The Queen swore to this treaty in the chapel at *Greenwich* on the 29th of *August*; and in *September* *Gilbert* Earl of *Sbrewsbury* was sent Ambassador to *France*, to see the King swear to it; and at the same time to present Sir *Antony Mildmay* to be the Queen's Ambassador, in the room of Sir *Henry Unton*, deceased, and to invest that King with the Order of the Garter (i). Soon after which Sir *Tbo. Baskerville*, with two thousand foot, was sent over to *Picardy*, agreeably to the late treaty.

Not long after Sir *Antony Mildmay's* arrival in *France*, Mr. *Edmondes* returned to *England*, as appears from a letter of his to Sir *Robert Sydney*, dated at *London*, *December* 3d, 1596 (k), in which he gives the following account of the posture of affairs in *France*, which he had then just left: "The King
" being out of action, those parts do now afford
" little matter of news. He is yet occupied in
" holding the assembly, which he hath called, of cer-
" tain Deputies out of every Province, in the na-
" ture of States General, wherein we cannot hear,
" that any thing is yet passed, but only of the
" speech, which the King made at the beginning of
" the same; whereof your Lordship shall receive a
" copy. I understood at my being there, that the
" things likely to be handled therein were the dis-
" charging the greatest part of the Treasurers
" throughout the Provinces; by the which it is pre-
" tended the King shall save above two hundred
" thousand Crowns in their wages, besides the ex-
" actions, which they did otherwise commit: so
" take some order also for the relief of the common

(i) Camden, p. 677, 678.
Vol. II. p. 10.

(k) Letters of the *Sidney* family.

" country-

48 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ country-people : to procure the impositions esta-
 “ blished lately at *Paris*, and in other places, to
 “ be received generally into all the towns ; which
 “ they have ever hitherto withstood : and, lastly,
 “ to procure some Church-land to be sold, with
 “ the allowance of the Pope.

“ They have already proceeded to the suspending
 “ of the Treasurers, until they take further order to
 “ discharge them. Your Lordship seeth how nearly
 “ their necessity doth press them, which maketh
 “ them to have recourse to all inventions of relief ;
 “ and if they would as well resolve to well govern
 “ their means, they might yet do miracles out of their
 “ happy ability. But I assure your Lordship, they
 “ continue in so great disorder and confusion, by
 “ reason of the *King's loose living*, and not caring
 “ for the main chance, as there is little hope to be
 “ conceived, that things will receive a better refor-
 “ mation with them. The King was never a more
 “ superstitious servant to his mistress, and doth
 “ wholly employ his spirits in that affection. Ma-
 “ dam, on the other side, is no less discontented to
 “ be so much neglected, and exposed to poverty ;
 “ wherein indeed her state deserveth pity : only she
 “ receiveth one contentment, that she will not now
 “ be further pressed in matter of love by the Duke
 “ of *Montpensier*, for that he is contracted to the
 “ Duke *de Joyeuse's* daughter, the which marriage
 “ the King did the more willingly set forward, to
 “ hinder the suit made unto her by Monfr. *de Vaude-
 “ mont*, the Duke of *Lorraine's* second son. She
 “ is a very great fortune. Monfr. *Chombel* hath
 “ been sent to treat with the Duke *Mercoeur* ;
 “ but, as we hear, he standeth upon so high terms,
 “ as there is little hope of according with him ;
 “ being unwilling to quit so great a benefit as he
 “ enjoyeth by the Truce, until he see the King to
 “ have better means to force him. Those of the
 “ Reli-

“ religion have returned their deputies to the court,
 “ and, as the King required, do now hold their
 “ assembly at *Vendosme*, to be nearer to receive their
 “ answers. Monsr. *de Reaulx* is departed, with her
 “ Majesty’s leave, to dispatch his private business in
 “ *France*; but yet is wind-bound at *Dover*. Tho’
 “ at the beginning his appearance did not like us,
 “ yet since his proceedings have greatly pleased her
 “ Majesty and the Council. He hath a desire to re-
 “ turn, if the King do enable him in means; but
 “ otherwise, he doth greatly apprehend the charge.”

Mr. *Edmondes* went back to *France*, where he was in *April* 1597, as appears by a letter of *Rowland Whyte*, Esq; to Sir *Robert Sidney*, dated from the *Strand*, in *London*, on the 13th of that month (*l*), in which he mentions, that *the matters of France were at a pause, till Mr. Edmondes’s return to England*, where we find him the beginning of *May* following (*m*); and that he reported, that the *French King* was resolute, that either her Majesty must aid him with the four thousand men, according to the contract, or recall those, who were in *France* (*m*). And indeed that King’s affairs were then in a very bad posture; for though Prince *Maurice of Nassau* had gained a battle against the *Spaniards* at *Tuernerhout*, on the 24th of *January*, 1596-7, N. S. (*n*); yet, on the other hand, *Hernando Telles Portocarrero*, governor of *Deurlens*, on the 11th of *March*, N. S. following, surprized *Amiens* (*o*). This accident disturbed the secret negotiations of peace, which, by the mediation of the Pope, were on foot between *Henry IV.* and *Philip II.* and the treaty was now pretty far advanced without Queen *Elizabeth’s* knowing any thing of it, notwithstanding the *French*

(*l*) Ibid. p. 38.
 1597. Ibid. p. 50.
 L. xix. fol. 397.

(*m*) Mr. *Whyte’s* letter the 4th of *May*,
 (*n*) *Nieteren*, *Histoire des Pays Bas*,
 (*o*) Id. fol. 399, 400.

King's late treaty with her, of which the principal article was, that no peace should be made without mutual consent.

Philip II. relying on a separate peace with *France*, had resolved on an invasion of *Ireland*; and prepared a fleet to execute it; of which the Queen having early notice, determined to prevent him, by sending against *Spain* a fleet of an hundred and twenty Ships, with six thousand land-forces, under the command of the Earl of *Effex*, in conjunction with the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter Ralegh*, *Charles Blount*, Lord *Montjoy*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, and Sir *Christopher Blount*: But contrary winds, storms, and a quarrel between the Earl of *Effex* and Sir *Walter Ralegh*, defeated the design of destroying the armament preparing at the *Groyne*, and waiting at the *Azores* for the *Spanish* fleet returning from the *Indies*; and the *English* fleet came back without having performed any considerable action, or meeting with that of *Spain*, which sailed from *Ferrol* to make a descent in *Cornwal* (p).

In the mean time the *French* King, being greatly perplexed with the loss of *Amiens*, which would enable the *Spaniards* to make excursions to the walls of *Paris*, resolved to recover that city, if possible, and formed a design to surprize it on the 26th of *March* 1596-7, N. S. but, failing of success, laid siege to it (q), and summoned Queen *Elizabeth* to send him four thousand men, according to treaty (r). Mr. *Edmondes* returned to *France* about the first or second week in *May* 1597, upon this subject (s), and came back to *London* about the end of that month, with an account, that the *French* King could not give *Boulogne* for a caution; but desired to have four thou-

(p) Camden, p. 683—691.

(q) Mæteren, fol. 400.

(r) Camden, p. 697.

(s) Letters of Rowland Whyte, Esq; May 14, 1597. Letters of the Sidney family, Vol. II. p. 52.

land men, or that the *English* troops already in *France* might be recalled : for which purpose he sent Monsr. *Reaulx* to the Queen, who had his audience of her Majesty on the 3d of *June* (1). The Queen declared her readines to send over the forces demanded, on condition the King would pay them; because the expences in equipping a fleet, and maintaining an army in *Ireland*, had exhausted her exchequer. The King, on the other hand, professed, that he was incapable of paying the troops ; and, to induce her Majesty to gratify him, acquainted her by Monsr. *Reaulx*, that a very advantageous peace had been offered him by the Pope's Nuncio, with the absolute restitution of all places in *France*, excepting *Calais* and *Ardres*, if he would abandon *England* ; and that the people of *France* were greatly zealous for a peace. The Queen answered him by Sir *Anthony Mildmay* her Embassador, who was a man of great openness, and sincerity, and could not bear the prevarication and levity of the *French* King's Council; that she could not believe, that so great a Prince, so nearly allied to her, and so highly obliged to her, would, on any pretence whatsoever, recede from a treaty so solemnly made, because she could not satisfy him in all points, on account of the vast difficulties, under which *England* laboured. But it being apprehended by some, that the King of *Spain*'s view was, by breaking off the alliance between the Queen and *Henry IV.* to attack *England* with the greater facility from *Calais*; her Majesty thought proper to send the troops, and pay them, on condition that the *French* King would carry on the war either in *Picardy* or *Bretagne*, in order to remove the enemy to a greater distance, and join more forces, and assign a place for retreat for the *English* ; without which her Majesty, out of tenderness to her subjects, could not expose them to

(1) Ibid. p. 55.

slaughter for the interest of *France*. However, she lent the King a considerable sum of money; for security of which, and the other moneys due to her, he offered her *Calais*, provided she would recover it within a stated time, at her own expence, and by her own forces. But, while these points were contested, *Amiens*, after an obstinate siege, surrendered itself to the *French King* (v), on the 24th of *September* 1597, N. S. (w).

The surrender of *Amiens* renewed the negotiations between *France* and *Spain*; for *Philip II.* being now disposed to peace by his advanced age, and the necessity of his affairs, and finding himself unequal to the war against *England*, *France*, and the *Low Countries*, was willing to agree with *Henry IV.* that he might not leave his Son engaged with too many potent enemies (*). Accordingly there was an interview upon the confines of *Picardy* and *Artois* between Secretary *Villeroy* on the part of the King of *France*, and the President *Richardot* for the Archduke *Albert*, who determined upon *Vervins*, upon the same confines, as the place for negotiating the peace (y).

Mr. *Edmondes* was, in *October* this year, sent again agent for her Majesty to the King of *France*; and, on the 26th of that month, Sir *Robert Cecil*, Secretary of State, wrote to him the following letter, dated at *Whitehall* (z): “ Until this very day we
“ have not heard one word of you since your departure; which kept us in doubtfulness of your
“ safety, till, by your letter bearing date the 19th of
“ this month, her Majesty received full and ample
“ satisfaction for as much as concerned your own

(v) Camden, p. 697, 698.

(w) Meteren, fol. 400. vers.

(x) Camden, p. 698.

(y) Davila, L. xv. & Thuanus,

I. cxviii. § 15. p. 686.

(z) Sir Thomas Edmondes's MS.

State-Papers, Vol. 2. p. 29.

“ proceedings: only that, which you wrote concerning the truce or peace, did not so clearly make
 “ mention of the particular point, whether her Majesty should be, by the agreement between them,
 “ comprehended in the same, or not, as by a letter from Monsr. *Villeroy* it appeareth, wherein he
 “ wrote to Mr. *Fontaine* with these words: *You may let the Queen know (for I speak it not by hearsay)*
 “ *that her Majesty is comprehended, by the assent of the Spaniard, into the treaty.* And therefore you
 “ will do well in your next to write what you hear; although I doubt not, before the arrival of this,
 “ but we shall hear more by the person, that the King sends hither. The present occasion of this
 “ dispatch is shortly this. This very day advertisement is come to the Queen of the fleet of *Spain*,
 “ which is issued from *Ferrol* and the *Groyne* the 8th of this month, being an hundred and twenty
 “ sail, with ten thousand soldiers, two thousand mariners, and many mills for corn; many women,
 “ 300 horse, and many materials for fortifications. That this is no fable, you may advertise the King,
 “ that a small man of war of *England*, being at sea, fell into their company in the night, in a storm;
 “ and seeing one of their small ships in distress to the leeward, bare up with her, fought her, and took
 “ her; but, after he had possessed her, and thought to bear for *England*, some of the fleet chased her,
 “ and so she was forced to let her go; but took seven men out of her, the captain, the master,
 “ and others, whose examination being taken at *Plymouth*, was sent up this day, and containeth
 “ what before I spake of, that the rendezvous was to come for *Falmouth*. This being certain, that at
 “ sea they were met (and it appeareth fully, that but for the East winds, which have blown strongly,
 “ they had been at their place of descent), hath given her Majesty just cause to look about her,
 “ having

“ having now no fleet in readiness to fight with
 “ them at sea, but our sole trust is to the land-de-
 “ fence. And therefore she little doubteth, that
 “ the King will in any sort mislike the sudden revo-
 “ cation of her troops of *Picardy* to serve herself :
 “ for this is of all certainty, either it is for *Ireland*,
 “ or *England*. If for *England*, then are we to
 “ doubt the taking in of the army of the *Low*
 “ *Countries* to be transported : which (as it falleth
 “ out) need not fear *France*, if the truce be made,
 “ as all the world says it is, and as shrewd circum-
 “ stances discover ; for we see the Cardinal (a) hath
 “ left *Amiens*, follows not Count *Maurice*, but keeps
 “ his forces together, and now suddenly draws them
 “ down to the sea-side. This her Majesty requires
 “ you to lay feelingly before the King, as reasons
 “ sufficient to dispense with her revocation, the Earl
 “ of *Essex* having most of her Majesty’s captains
 “ in the voyage ; and these being fit to be employed
 “ in this kingdom, if he should attempt the *Isle of*
 “ *Wight*, or any place near the heart of the king-
 “ dom. This being all, at this time, which my
 “ leisure will permit me to write, expecting hourly
 “ to hear of their arrival, if the storm have not
 “ forced them to their own coast again. And so I
 “ commit you to God.

“ From the court at *Whitehall*, the 26th of *Octo-*
 “ *ber*, at eleven at night.

“ If they be gone for *Ireland*, they find it at an
 “ evil time ; for the noble Lord *Burghe* (b) is dead
 “ of sickness the 8th of this month.”

This *Spanish* fleet occasioned a great alarm : the
 Lords sat in council that very afternoon the news of
 it came to court ; which, the same day, received
 likewise the certainty of the death of the Lord *Be-*

(a) *Albert*.

(b) *Borough*.

rugh, Lord Deputy of *Ireland* (c). The Lord *Hunsdon*, Lord Chamberlain, was the next day ordered to go immediately towards the western coast, to command all such forces, as should be fit for resistance, if the enemy should land; and captains were appointed to attend him. All or most of the gentlemen of every county were likewise commanded to go home for the defence of the sea-coast (d).

The day following, *October* 28th, the Earl of *Essex*'s own letters came to court of his safe landing at *Phymouth*; and an account, that the *Spanish* fleet, commanded by the *Adelantado*, hovered up and down upon the coast; but had not yet made any descent. The Earl of *Essex* caused men to be levied upon all the western coast, and many of the land-captains to take the charge of the forces; and after having victualled his fleet, and recruited with fresh men, intended to put to sea again (e). But the apprehensions from the *Spanish* fleet soon vanished; for it was dispersed by a violent storm, in which many of the ships perished, and one was at last driven into *Dartmouth*, the mariners and soldiers being almost dead with hunger; who confessed, that the *Spaniards* had determined to have siezed some port in *Cornwall*, which was most convenient, from its situation near the mouth of the Chanel, for receiving succours from *Spain*; which would have kept the *English* employed in a war at home, and prevented their navigation to the *West Indies* and *Spain* (f).

The *French* King, not long after, sent Monfr. *de Hurault* Sieur *de Masse*, one of his Council, to Queen *Elizabeth*, to inform her that he had an offer from the King of *Spain* to treat of a peace; and that

(c) Mr. *R. Whyte*'s letter of the 26th of *October* 1597. Letters of the *Whyte* family, vol. 2. p. 71. (d) Mr. *Whyte*'s letter of the 27th of *October* 1597. Ib. p. 72. (e) Mr. *Whyte*'s letter of the 28th and 29th of *October* 1597. Ibid. p. 72, 74. (f) *Camden*, p. 691.

Cardinal *Albert* had authority for that purpose, and likewise to treat with her Majesty. And therefore considering he was obliged by a League, both with her Majesty and the States of the United Provinces, to continue the war against the King of *Spain*, the common enemy, he desired the Queen to certify him, whether she would make choice to continue the war, or to hearken to peace; since he would conform himself thereto in his answer to Cardinal *Albert*. The Queen's answer was, that though this offer of peace to the *French* King might have warrant; yet for any treaty for peace to be offered to her Majesty, she understood of no good warrant from the King of *Spain*. And when Monfr. *de Maisse* said, he thought, that the Cardinal might have authority, the Queen reminded him, how treacherously she had been used by the King of *Spain* in the year 1588, when she was assured by the Duke of *Parma*, that he was authorized by the King of *Spain* to treat for a peace; which induced her to send a solemn embassy of her Privy Counsellors to *Bourbourg*, who, when they came thither, found no commission to the Duke from the King of *Spain*, but were told, that one was shortly expected; while that King was preparing his formidable *Armada* for the conquest of *England* (g).

The *French* King, however, having desired the Queen, and the States General, to send Commissioners to settle the points, upon which the treaty of peace might be framed, her Majesty appointed Sir *Robert Cecil* her principal Secretary of State, *John Herbert* Master of Requests, and Sir *Thomas Wylkes*, to go to *France* for that purpose; as the States Ge-

(g) Lord *Burghley*'s considerations of a motion for a treaty of peace with the King of *Spain*, printed in *Styfe's* annals of Church and State under Queen *Elizabeth*, Vol. 4. N^o 246. p. 327.

neral likewise did the Admiral *Justin de Nassau*, and *John Barneveldt*; and at the same time sent other deputies to *England*, to dissuade the Queen from making peace (*b*).

Mr. *Edmondes*, who was now at *Paris*, wrote from thence on the 21st of *January* 1597-8, to Secretary *Cecil* (*i*), in the following terms.

It may please your Honour,

“ I wrote unto your Honour three days past by
 “ *Vaikendall* the post: since the which time I under-
 “ stand, that the King hath complained greatly of
 “ the answer brought by Monfr. *de Maijse*, that her
 “ Majesty refuseth to assist him longer with any
 “ forces, unless *Calais* may be delivered to her;
 “ and denieth likewise to furnish him with any ships
 “ for the siege of *Nantes*: That she doth passionate-
 “ ly desire a peace, and speaketh contemptibly of
 “ those of the *Low Countries*, saying, that they do
 “ not merit, that she should hazard her State for
 “ them. But for his part he saith, that he cannot
 “ so neglect them, in regard of their good assistance
 “ towards him. I understand, moreover, that their
 “ purpose is to stand stiffly on their ostentation in
 “ their negotiation with your Honour, and those of
 “ the *Low Countries*; and to press you, upon the
 “ haste of the King’s journey into *Bretagne*, to a
 “ speedy resolution, to avoid, that you may not draw
 “ things to a length, and discover the weakness of
 “ their treaty with the enemy. If it will please your
 “ Honour to advance to this place, you will find
 “ much more facility and contentment to negotiate
 “ with the King himself, than with his Council at
 “ *Rean*. Your Honour’s coming is attended here
 “ with greatest earnestness; and the King’s journey
 “ into *Bretagne* stayeth now only thereupon.”

(*b*) *Camden*, p. 705.
Papers, vol. 2. p. 7.

(*i*) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*’s *State-*

The Earl of *Essex*, who was at the head of a party opposite to the Lord Treasurer, and his son the Secretary, had upon all occasions declared his aversion to any treaty with *Spain*, and was considered by the court of *France* as the most zealous friend, which they had in *England*, and the most inclined to support them with the utmost vigour against *Spain*. His Lordship likewise, on his part, cultivated an interest in that court, and procured intelligence from thence, by means of *Antonio Perez*, then at *Paris*, who had been formerly Secretary to *Philip II.* of *Spain*, but obliged to quit that kingdom, upon being accused of having betrayed the secrets of his Master, and having caused *John de Escovedo*, Secretary to Don *John* of *Austria*, to be assassinated, though that was done by the King's own order; whereas the real cause of his disgrace was *Philip's* jealousy of *Perez's* intimacy with the Princess of *Éboli*, the King's own mistress *. He resided some time in *England*, but met with no countenance from the Queen, or the Lord Treasurer: But the Earl of *Essex* entertained him in his house †; and when *Perez* went to *France*, where he had a pension, corresponded with him both directly, and by the means of *Anthony Bacon*, Esq; who was his Lordship's most intimate friend and assistant in procuring intelligence from all parts. The Earl also made great use of Mr. *Robert Naunton*, of an ancient family in *Suffolk*, educated a fellow-commoner of *Trinity-College, Cambridge*, then fellow of *Trinity-hall*, in 1601 public orator of that University (a), afterwards Master of Requests, and Surveyor of the Court of Wards; in *January*, 1617-8, Secretary of State (b); and, at last, Master of the

* Amelot de la Houssaie, *Memoires historiques*, &c. tom 1, p. 241. & seq. edit. Amsterdam, 1722. † Camden's *Elizabeth*, p. 625. (a) Fuller's *Worthies* in *Suffolk*, p. 64. (b) Camdeni annales regis Jacobi I. p. 29.

Court of Wards, which post he resigned in *March* 1634-5, and died in the same month (c). This gentleman, being upon his travels in *France* in 1597, wrote the Earl of *Essex* several letters, of which it will not be improper to insert here some at length, and extracts from others *, as they give a very curious account of the state of affairs in that kingdom, and the secrets of the court at that important crisis, with some anecdotes relating to *Perez*, who continued there till his death in 1611 †.

Mr. *Naunton*'s letter dated at *Paris*, Aug. 4, 1597, N. S. is as follows :

It may please your Lordship,

“ I find now the proof of that I wrote in the former of my inclosed, that the affairs here would be subject to many alterations, before the report of them could come to your Lordship's hands. I now see they change faster than I can well write them. I advertised, in my yesterday's letters, the settled conceit, which had taken impression in the best judgments here, after a month's observation of the tenor of all their proceedings touching the treaty of peace with *Spain*. The Legate himself was then of opinion, that except either the King of *Spain* should take some greater blow, or the *French* King should achieve some higher exploit upon him, than yet he could expect, it would be very hard to draw the King of *Spain* to any serious accord in these advantages. And being presented, by *Antonio Perez*, with the self-pleasing surmises of the *French* King, that now gave it out, how the Cardinal should seek to them for composition, as I then advertised ; his answer was in these very

* *Strafford's letters*, vol. 1: p. 389, 412.

State-Papers, of Anthony Bacon, Esq.; † *Amelot de Houssain*, ubi supra, p. 250, 251.

* From the MS.

“ words,

60 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ words, *Cito concipere Gallos, decipere Hispanos!*
 “ But now, this morning, before I could have made
 “ up my packet, *Antonio Perez* came to my lodg-
 “ ing directly from the Pope’s Legate, who hath
 “ newly assured him, that now, upon the sudden,
 “ the Cardinal was become so forward in good ear-
 “ nest to this old desperate treaty of reconciliation
 “ and peace, as the *French* King is waxen more
 “ backward than he could have believed, whether
 “ upon apprehension of either some sudden death,
 “ or haply some streights, that the Earl of *Essex* may
 “ have driven his men to in *Spain*, or the States in
 “ the *Low Countries*, or upon confidence of his own
 “ strength, which begins at length to swell greater
 “ than he can well bear; or upon suspicion and mis-
 “ doubt of some insidious circumvention, that the
 “ Cardinal may hatch under this new cloke of an
 “ unexpected amity. *Antony Perez* strait dialo-
 “ guised with him, and objected, that it might be
 “ the King of *Spain* had in purpose, upon this pre-
 “ sent provocation, to turn all his spleen upon
 “ *England*, and the *Low Countries*; which he thought
 “ the *French* King could not well suffer, and him-
 “ self mean while to stand with his thumbs bound,
 “ and look on. The Legate replied, that there was
 “ no such matter intended; but that the King of
 “ *Spain*’s necessity was altogether as urgent in gene-
 “ ral to induce him to an intire peace, as the *French*
 “ King’s was; and that there was no doubt, but the
 “ Queen of *England*, and States of the *Low Coun-*
 “ *tries*, should either be included in the treaty, if
 “ the *French* King should instance for it, or at least
 “ that he would be contented to bind himself by par-
 “ ticular capitulation from attempting any thing
 “ against either of those States. For mine own part,
 “ though I were most religiously charmed and con-
 “ jured by *Antonio Perez* to deliver this, without
 “ any intimation given of the persons from whom it
 “ comes,

England, France, and Bruffels. 61

" comes, in respect of the danger of ruining their
" credits thus committed to my trust, if the authors
" of these advertisements should be discovered; yet
" must I not take it upon me to advertise and assure
" a matter of this importance under mine own name.
" I assure me, your Lordship will so order all, as no
" touch shall grow hence either to his secrecy to the
" Legate or mine to him. I am resolved *Antonio Perez*
" deals sincerely herein; and that his own serious
" apprehensions of this peace, so dangerous to him-
" self, whetted him to take the pains to come im-
" mediately to me with the news, in hope, that by
" this office he should treasure up himself grace
" there, against whensoever he shall be frightened
" from hence.
" And so must humbly I take leave.

" *Your Lordship's most devoted,*
and bounden,

Paris, May 4th,
Stile Vra. [1597.]

Ro. Naunton.

Mr. Naunton's next letter was to Mr. *Anthony Bacon*, dated at *Paris*, Sept. 23d, 1597, in which he mentions, that *Antonio Perez* had complained to him of Mr. Bacon's coldness towards him; whose letters to him were more curiously and elaborately penned, than was compatible with their former familiarity, and savoured more of Mr. Francis Bacon's eloquence, than of Mr. *Anthony Bacon's* own ancient affection.

On the 28th of November, Mr. Naunton wrote to the Earl of *Essex*, that Secretary *Villeroy* having complained, that his Lordship's promises to France had not always proved prophecies; he had been so strongly answered upon that head by *Perez*, that the Secretary had since that time excluded him from all know-
ledge

ledge of the proceedings of that court, as far as lay in his power : That since his Lordship's embarking in the expedition against *Spain* that year, the *French* Ministers had broke out into a more than ordinary freeness of censure of his Lordship, alleging, that *all his counsels and intelligences, practised upon them, had tended to no other end, but, by abusing of their favours, and credulities here, to establish himself a higher reputation and fortune there at home* : That his Lordship had, to this intent, employed Sir *Henry Unton* to their court, as the choicest instrument of England, to *incant and delude their King* ; but Sir *Henry*, thinking to have beguiled all the world, beguiled himself most of all. That his former surmise had been imparted to *Antonio Perez* by *Monfr. de Sancy*, first, as a general conceit of the greatest part of their council, and afterwards iterated again and again by that gentleman, for the very words and complaints of the King himself : and that the foundation of these apprehensions was, that Queen *Elizabeth* should tell the Duke of *Bouillion*, and *Mr. de Sancy*, when they were both together in *England*, in order to negotiate about the rescue of *Calais*, that *his Lordship was the sole director of all the English forces then ready assembled upon that shew to a diverse service*. That “ this ground had been since thoroughly “ descanted upon during the employment of the “ late Embassador here [*Sir Anthony Mildmay*] whose “ genius, says *Mr. Naunton*, notwithstanding, seems “ to have been but ill chosen to manage such in- “ structions ; being found, by experience, much “ apter to plant implausible conceits of himself, “ than to weed or root out better opinions due to “ others. Since his discharge, and your Lordship's “ second embarkment into the late great action, I “ have heard whispers of new instructions insinuated “ hither from thence [*England*] ; that they have “ taken the wrong way all this while to draw such “ aid

“aid from thence as they desired: that they must come
 “through another man’s hands, if they come at all;
 “and that they must be sought for thence, yea, and
 “accepted and used in the same proportion, that his
 “honour will afford them, continually, but sparing-
 “ly, and by piece-meal, now a little, and then a
 “little.” He then observes, that, meeting with
 Mr. Lilly, he sounded him all he could touching
 the proceedings in the camp; “who dealt so freely
 “with me, *adds he*, before we departed, as to tell
 “me, that, upon your Lordship’s being at sea, he
 “was strait sent for into *England*, and should have
 “been shouldered out of his charge, had he not,
 “by all humble conformities and dexterities, gained
 “peace. Being returned hither, he wrote certain
 “generalities, as he tells me, to Mr. Secretary,
 “which were particularly well accepted, and answer-
 “ed by his own pen. By the credit of those an-
 “swers, he improved his own credit with the Ge-
 “neral, and other gentlemen of quality about him,
 “so far as to be admitted to the sight of other letters
 “from the same hand to them, which reported
 “your Lordship’s successes at sea with such kind of
 “alacrity, as favoured stronger of the *old leaven*,
 “than the *new league of reconciliation*. Yea, he
 “was thus plainly used in his own particular, as to
 “be told, that when the General should complain
 “of the mis of him to the King, as of a very suffi-
 “cient Minister, &c. while he was so sent for away
 “into *England*, that the King should answer, that
 “he might well be spared, *car c’est tout a Monsr. le*
 “*Comte d’Essex*, &c. How truly this may be spoken
 “in his own cause, I define not. If he told it me,
 “in hope that it should come to your Lordship’s
 “knowledge by my means, I would be loth to
 “have served his, or any other man’s, turn in such
 “an office: for the thesis of the variations, decli-
 “nations, retrogradations, and debouchements, of
 “the

64 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ the General, between the King here, and his *new*
 “ allies there, I have heard it as well by Mr. *Ed-*
 “ *mondes*, and by others, as by him.—— I have
 “ all this while discoursed of the effects of your
 “ Lordship’s tempests at sea; but now it hath
 “ pleased God to hear the prayers of many, and to
 “ turn the winds in your Lordship’s favour, here
 “ is all fair weather; all old surmises becalmed;
 “ *sunt omnia protinus alba*. Yea, we are grown so
 “ far in love with this unexpected good fortune of
 “ your Lordship, as it must be thought, that that
 “ *recul* of our affections was intended to no other
 “ end, but to make the rebound stronger, and all
 “ the former complaints to have been but forced
 “ semblances of unkindness against you, all to make
 “ love for a time to such as love to hear of such im-
 “ putations set abroad against you: yea, little
 “ Mr. *Edmondes* himself shall be half-suspected to
 “ be too much a Secretary, and not to be half so
 “ *French* as we would have him; and that only be-
 “ cause we spake soberly and sparingly of your
 “ Lordship’s success and performances; so jealous
 “ we are become upon the sudden of all such, as
 “ shall but seem to envy your honour, and repine
 “ at your felicities.”

The next day, *November 29th, 1597*. Mr. *Naun-*
ton wrote again to the Earl, informing him, that
Perez having sent his friend Signr. *Marenco* to Monfr.
d’Incarville for a warrant to receive a thousand
 crowns granted him formerly by *Henry IV.* he was
 answered, that *Perez* had greatly misdemeaned him-
 self of late, in writing into *England*, that peace be-
 tween *France* and *Spain* was either already concluded,
 or as good; which was very injurious to the Ma-
 jesty of their King and Kingdom, as if they were to
 fear the King of *Spain*, or had not means of their
 own to maintain the war with *Spain*. Mr. *Naunton*
 likewise observes, that the variety of his advices
 about

about the peace arose from the variety and change^s of the opinions and humours in the *French* court. “ The voice of the people, *says he*, was this other day, that all articles were at length accorded upon for the Cardinal’s part ; and the Legate was hard upon coming from *St. Quintin’s* to the King, to propound them all to be likewise accepted and ratified on his part, and that at once. “ This bruit arose upon the arrival of a messenger sent from *Monfr. Sillery*, who negotiated this business at *St. Quintin’s*. But all the certainty, that I can yet hear, is, that there were three new commissioners sent thither from the Cardinal, with special instructions to accelerate this atonement. “ It is conceived, that the Pope’s present broils concerning *Ferrara* have advised him now not to linger any longer in this cunctatory treaty, but to urge the accord between these two Princes all he can, that he may use both their assistance to recover his own interest. The Constable told *Perez*, a good while since, that the King had put over the final determination of this great point till this time of his diet at *St. Germain’s* ; and that he would not admit of any peace at all, except all the King of *Spain* holds in *France* should be rendered without any demolition : yet he spared not to note then a certain importuner kind of secret pension of the King to the pleasures and easements of peace, and the establishment of his State at home, than he could outwardly make shew for. “ But we must needs hear some news thence from *Monfr. de Maisse*, before we will conclude of this weightier matter. The point is, it will not be safe trusting to any *Spanish* peace, except her Majesty and the States be co-included ; for the King knows, that most of his Catholics will be as much at the King of *Spain’s* devotion, for a few doubloons, to blow the fire afresh, when he will have

F

“ them,

66 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ them, as ever heretofore : and the Protestants, on
 “ the other side, will be as ready to stir upon the
 “ first scent of such a suspicious union with *Spain*.
 “ If the Cardinal be as frank a chapman to purchase
 “ this peace, by granting all manner of conditions,
 “ as *Villeroy* would have it thought ; then, say other
 “ some, that surely the King of *Spain* is dead indeed ;
 “ and the world may be more deceived in thinking
 “ him now alive, than it was lately in holding him
 “ for dead. It was not for nothing (say these men)
 “ that the Prince hath lately signed all his mande-
 “ ments, &c. as I advertised in my last. But, me-
 “ thinks, the late forwardness of the *Spanish* prepa-
 “ ration for *England* and *Ireland*, which here they
 “ will have only intended for their own kingdom,
 “ should rather argue, that his malice against her Ma-
 “ jesty lives still ; and that he could be content to
 “ remit all his quarrels in *France*, upon condition he
 “ might wreak his revenge there. To which design
 “ how far the King would have given aim, if the
 “ enterprize had proceeded, I must leave it to God
 “ and him. But, notwithstanding the King of *Spain*
 “ live, yet we see his successors, both here, in the
 “ *Low Countries*, and at sea, have had so little life
 “ in them, as he wants no reason to be as hungry
 “ after peace, as he is thirsty of revenge. It is said,
 “ Duke *Mercoeur* is grown very conformable to sub-
 “ mit himself, and all he holds, to the King, so he
 “ may be allowed to continue as Governor of *Bre-*
 “ *tagne* ; and that the Queen, his sister *, is to in-
 “ terpose herself as mediatrix in this reconciliation.
 “ The King, since his coming hither, hath been
 “ making feint offers for an edict, to be verified by
 “ his Parliaments, in the Protestants favour, touch-
 “ ing such articles, as I have particularized heretofore.
 “ It was given out, he would have come in person

* *Louise*, Widow of King *Henry III.* of *France*.

“ him-

“ himself to the palace, to urge the verification.
 “ But after that he had conferred privately with
 “ the premier President, our next news was, that
 “ the nature of the edict was to be changed into a
 “ bare declaration of the King’s pleasure and dispo-
 “ sition in their favour, whereof he would have the
 “ Parliament take knowledge in their several refforts;
 “ and the Protestants, on the other side, to take
 “ knowledge of his displeasure at some refractoriness
 “ in the Parliaments to second this his zeal to content
 “ them. The pitch of this consideration seems to
 “ have been at first, that he should have great need
 “ of the Protestants services to recover *Bretagne*, and
 “ to tame Duke *Mercoeur* their overthwart neigh-
 “ bour: which being discovered by him, seems to
 “ have been a helping cause of his sudden and un-
 “ expected applicability. But, let Duke *Mercoeur*
 “ come off never so kindly (as, if the King of *Spain*
 “ be so pliant indeed, he can hardly hold out of nim-
 “ self), yet must not the King make any accord
 “ with him, till he shall have drawn another subsidy
 “ from their Parliament-men, by the mystery of
 “ creating more new alternative officers of justice
 “ among them; the only pretence for which subsidy
 “ must be, the furnishing of this expedition into
 “ *Bretagne*: and, when that is levied, Duke *Mer-*
 “ *coeur* is like enough to have favourable hearing.
 “ And for the treaty with the Protestants, I am told,
 “ from a gentleman of Madame’s, that it is carried
 “ with such cunning, as there is only like to be grant-
 “ ed such demands, as concern, and will nigh con-
 “ tent, the popular sort; and those other, that
 “ should principally concern their chiefs, are like to
 “ be denied; that, by this device, they may se-
 “ quester and disunite the people so contented from
 “ their heads, that shall still remain discontented.
 “ The needless late jealousies set a-foot concerning
 “ my writing must make up my excuse, that I can

68 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ inform myself no more particularly in these mat-
 “ ters. It is doubted, that if Duke *Mercoeur* be
 “ once conformed, the Protestants shall receive less
 “ satisfaction, after their assistance shall be less ne-
 “ cessary. *Antonio Perez* takes this late care to sa-
 “ tisfy the Protestants for an infallible sign, that the
 “ peace with *Spain* is now concluding, as if it were
 “ principally intended to cast their watchful jealousies
 “ that way into a dead sleep, and to prevent new
 “ commotions, the ordinary effects of inveterate dif-
 “ fidence. But, for mine own part, I must still take
 “ that high affectation, if it hold on (whereof I
 “ have written in my two last), for a much greater
 “ argument of inducement, and most like of all the
 “ rest to work into the King for a general pacifica-
 “ tion foreign. My reason is, for that the follow-
 “ ing of it alone will give him new work enough at
 “ home. Now, because the person of *A. Cesar* * is
 “ subject to exception at the first naming, here runs
 “ a new discourse from man to man, in hugger-
 “ mugger, how the Pope did license the King for
 “ one three years from marriage of any other wife,
 “ in respect of his *St. Bartholomew Queen*. That
 “ these three years are now first upon the determin-
 “ ing, and that by consequence he may now be-
 “ think himself of entertaining his mistress into that
 “ place. Now, if this may be closely handled,
 “ and perfected before her bringing in bed, the Ca-
 “ non law will allow, that this child she goes on
 “ is legitimated by marriage, so it be born after the
 “ marriage, though it were begotten before : and if
 “ the Pope’s dispensation shall follow, *ex abundanti*,
 “ for the approbation of such a marriage, notwith-
 “ standing the first wife’s life, then it will be sin to
 “ make any doubt, that this heir shall not be more

* *Henry IV.’s* natural son by *Gabrielle d’Estrées*, afterwards
 Duke of *Vendôme*.

“ than

“ than an ordinary legitimate. Now, if it shall
 “ prove to be a son (as her late courageous residence
 “ at the siege of *Amiens* threatens some great captain
 “ of such a masculine virago), what a comfort must
 “ this be to *France*, to see all their secret grudges
 “ and distractions concerning the present state of
 “ title for their succession, that lie yet, as it were,
 “ deep raked up in the ashes, for fear of going out;
 “ to see them all so happily forestalled! And again,
 “ what a thrifty course may this be for the crown, to
 “ take a wife already sufficiently endowed, already
 “ contented with the advancement of her family and
 “ alliances, so as no change nor innovation in court
 “ can ensue, no nor emulations and heart-burnings,
 “ such as ordinarily accompany the sudden prefer-
 “ ments of new favourites! These plausible suppo-
 “ sitions are broached underhand (as I said) to feel
 “ what allowance they may find abroad; but under
 “ such precise *benedicite*, as makes them the more
 “ suspected to be derived from the King himself,
 “ because they, that give them out, will needs seem
 “ to be more afraid of it coming again to the King’s
 “ knowledge than they are. Now, to draw on such
 “ a bliss, without any incumbrance, there is good
 “ reason, that *Spain* and *France* should be made
 “ friends; that the Protestants should be contented;
 “ and especially that the Count *Soissons* (if he could
 “ stand contented with Madame’s marriage, and that
 “ superficial hope of *Navarre*) may be sundered
 “ from the rest of his own father’s house, who,
 “ without him, are like to attempt, or, at the hard-
 “ est, to prevail little. In my last I advertised you,
 “ how unexpectedly he was mentioned by the King
 “ to Madame, and what constructions were then made
 “ of it. The times have since added this surmise
 “ unto these other. It may be they are all wide of
 “ the King’s close intention in that action. I must
 “ content myself with bare queries and disquisitions

“ in matters of so deep mystery. As for the Con-
 “ stable, who seems the other principal obstacle to
 “ this design, how jealous soever the King and he
 “ may be either of other in their own persons ; yet
 “ for a doting blind ambition for their posterities,
 “ why may they not folder themselves fast and firm
 “ together by a second cross-match between the
 “ King’s son, and the other’s daughter ? It is a
 “ world to think how suspicious the logic of these
 “ times is to draw every thing, that occurs, yea,
 “ that may occur, into a consequence ; and all to
 “ confirm an apprehension once imprinted. Since
 “ *Sancy* first inspired *Perez* with this jealousy, all
 “ that is possible, is held for probable. Yea, to em-
 “ ploy a finer subtilty in these paradoxes, we must
 “ go beyond all these ordinary possibilities, and hold
 “ it for a new rule, that, in such exorbitant affecta-
 “ tions entertained by persons of such partial and pas-
 “ sionate discourse, the more improbable a course
 “ shall seem, the more probable it is, and the more
 “ likely to be taken. Now the occasion of this diet
 “ is made the entrance to the King’s retired keeping
 “ of State, which in my former I noted, that he was
 “ minded to hold. The Constable will be known to be
 “ capable of all the ancient jurisdiction and authority
 “ incident to his place. He told *Gil de Mesa* *, that
 “ the King had lately importuned him to take upon
 “ him a great part of the general reformation of his
 “ domestical abuses : that there shall forthwith be
 “ order taken for the proceedings of the war or
 “ peace ; then for the proportioning his expences in
 “ building, and all other private expences belonging
 “ to his house : that the financiers shall be looked
 “ into ; and the infinity of pensions limited : that the

* A Gentleman of *Aragon*, who had been forced to fly to
France, on account of the zeal, which he had shewn for his friend
Perez. Dr. *Geddis*’s history of the sad catastrophe of *Antonio Pe-*
rez. Miscellaneous Tracts, Vol. II. p. 373, 375, 403.

“ Constable himself shall keep the King’s signet;
 “ and no Secretary shall have the credit to sign any
 “ dispatch or mandement of importance without his
 “ privy, as it was of old in former times, when
 “ their Princes government was most absolute. And
 “ lastly, that no man shall have access to the King,
 “ but such as the Constable shall admit; and they
 “ to be accompanied with one man. There have
 “ been put from the door already Duke *Montpen-*
 “ *sier*, Duke *de Mayenne*, *d’Espernon*, and the Chan-
 “ cellor. Physic is taken for the pretence, *Sarda-*
 “ *napalate* for the intent of this closeness: whol-
 “ some may they prove! The Constable, by this
 “ means, is become *Maire du Palais*, an office in
 “ their old stories fatal to their Princes. The effect
 “ will be, to render the one odious, and the other
 “ contemptible in his inclusive Majesty. Whatever
 “ secret drifts may be intended on either part, it is
 “ presumed the Constable stands the surer, founded
 “ upon the fidelity and fastness of his friends and
 “ followers, than the King himself; and therefore
 “ whensoever the King, or his mistress, should grow
 “ weary of this mew, be it soon or late, it will be
 “ as safe for the Constable, as either of them, to re-
 “ turn to their *premier* familiarity; which is as natu-
 “ ral to the *French* humour, as it is customary and
 “ inveterate. All this but an essay to taste how
 “ this new fast will be digested.

“ To end with Madame’s * Marriage, it is yet but
 “ nine days since she told a Gentleman of the Reli-
 “ gion, one of her special Council, that she was come
 “ to *St. Germain* to conclude her match with *du Pont*;
 “ but that she was resolute to have it concealed
 “ after the Protestant Order, or not at all. This
 “ confirmed me in that opinion, which before

* *Katharine*, the King’s Sister, married afterwards to *Henry*,
 Duke of *Bar*, eldest son to *Henry II.* Duke of *Lorraine*

“ I advertised, of an especial hope she seemed to
 “ have, that all would be broken off in conclusion
 “ about this quarrel of ceremonies. Yet in the end
 “ she told this Gentleman frankly, that she was half-
 “ persuaded the King was not yet then firmly re-
 “ solved, for all this that had passed, either off or
 “ on ; but that haply he might deceive them all in
 “ his disposing of her in the end. But this day
 “ there is a diverse proposition come from her
 “ to *Perez*, to importune him, that in case no con-
 “ dition, that *France* can afford him, may content
 “ him, to abide here, that he will do her the favour
 “ to accompany her into *Lorrain*, where she will
 “ give him all she hath, rather than her brother and
 “ he both should lose him. And that this is no di-
 “ latory evasion, she assures him, that she is very
 “ shortly to transport herself over thither. This is
 “ the conclusion now in force for that business. As
 “ for *Perez*’s, I must imagine they will never grow
 “ to any definitive conclusion ; and therefore I must
 “ meddle much less in that matter, than I can per-
 “ suade him I do, though I have almost perempto-
 “ rily refused him to wade any deeper into that
 “ bottomless whirlpool. I question his own letter
 “ to your Lordship will be so much the more free,
 “ the less forwardness he shall find in me to be his
 “ Secretary ; yet durst I not shew myself too shy in
 “ shunning this importunate argument altogether,
 “ for fear he apprehend, that there hath been made
 “ but an artificial use of his devotions all this while,
 “ as he hath of late often ingeminated, that Mr. *Ba-*
 “ *con* was wont to glory, how many younger men
 “ had been sweetly drawn into, &c. The rest of this
 “ argument, and of that other design discovered by
 “ him and *Marenco*, I refer to their inclosed.”

Mr. *Naunton*, on the 16th of *December* 1597,
 wrote again from *Paris* to the Earl of *Essex* the fol-
 lowing letter :

“ My

“ My last, of the 29th of *October*, were so tedious in delivering other particularities, as I was
 “ then fain to refer your Lordship to this new design of the King’s mistress to the report of *Perez*
 “ and *Marenco*, the first discoverers thereof, and to reserve mine own paraphrase thereupon, till I had
 “ better informed myself in all the circumstances and ends belonging to it. Now, having this opportunity of Mr. *Castell’s*, I have thought it very due, that I should recapitulate this story, and that with all the freedom, which I could draw from them, that your Lordship may so much the better consider of the whole action, and the affectations incident unto it. To begin with Signior *Grosso* his person : They describe him to be an
 “ *Italian* merchant of no less than forty years trade and conversation in the court of *France* ; one, to whom the King is much indebted ; and consequently a malcontent here, and desirous to work himself into her Majesty’s favour and pension there. He opened himself thus far to his countryman *Marenco*, that he had already made half an entrance into a course of intelligence with her Majesty by the late Ambassador’s mediation ; and that there had been a kind of overture broken between the King’s mistress and our Ambassador, of tendering all the suits and offices of an intire intelligence unto her Majesty, so the King’s mistress might be resolved of her Majesty’s secrecy, and assured favour and protection here another day, whensoever the uncertainty of this dangerous and tickle state, which she holdeth here, a great deal harder to maintain it, than it hath been to obtain it, should require, &c. But now this overture being interrupted by the sudden departure of our Ambassador from hence, that it had been all the while adjourned till now, himself had received instructions to renew the prosecution of
 “ it

74 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ it by letters, &c. This was the sum of *Ma*
 “ *co*’s first conference with his countryman, who
 “ I doubt not but they have sufficiently enla
 “ in their own letters inclosed in my last pac
 “ *Marenco* had no sooner imparted this to *Pe*
 “ but he set him upon the other merchant, wi
 “ fresh assault and instructions to divert so in
 “ gent an intelligencer’s devotion from our En
 “ sador, and to deflect them upon the Earl of *E*
 “ And if he should find him to be thirsty afterwi
 “ an appetite not to be missed of in that nation
 “ was to warrant him, that he should find a n
 “ more bountiful consideration from your Lord
 “ than from the Embassador, or whosoever ha
 “ him a-work. Yea, and rather than fail, he
 “ commission to insinuate unto him, that *F*
 “ himself had a special desire to draw the fu
 “ solicitation of this new correspondence into
 “ own hands, so as it might raise him matte
 “ employment from the King into *England* by
 “ suggestions of the King’s mistress: And if so
 “ that he might improve this overture so highl
 “ his own contentment, then he was further to
 “ sure him of another by-pension from himself
 “ his Embassade allowance of some hundreds
 “ ann. over and besides whatsoever he should
 “ ceive in ordinary from your Lordship, whic
 “ was borne in hand should be no less than t
 “ hundred more. This induction wrought so ki
 “ with our merchant, being thus possessed wi
 “ hope of multiplying his wages from thence f
 “ so many hands, as he rendered that letter
 “ celled, which they sent your Lordship into
 “ *renco*’s hands, and put off *Combs* with an
 “ packet for the Embassador of the late occur
 “ of *Ferrara*, &c. vowing unto *Marenco*, that
 “ Embassador nor his allies should not be tr
 “ with a secret of so dangerous importance, if
 “ m

might find so fit an access as this to rely the trust of it to your Lordship.

Your Lordship hath now the narration, and that somewhat fuller, as I guess, in some particularities, than themselves would set down. The rest I must still refer to the fountain, for fear of troubling your Lordship with needless repetition. Yet must I add other after-advice, which I tried out of *Perez* after I had sundred him apart from *Marenco*, whose presence I find that it doth often abridge his liberty and confidence of discourse with myself. His own zeal to compass himself so acceptable an employment out of the premises had made him half forget, how far he had already proceeded in this office with your Lordship; and needs he would consult with *Naunton*, how he might put it into the King's mistress's head, that this secret could not be so safely concredited to any *Frenchman*, as to a stranger, for many pregnant respects. *Naunton* told him, that it was very improbable, how closely soever the King's mistress might seem to keep this from the King, yet that she durst not venture upon such a design without his privity; and that haply both of them by this conference might tend to the establishing of that high affectation, whereof I wrote in my last; and yet so as the King would not be seen in the matter, and that for many advantages, that he might take hereafter upon the events, that might ensue either upon favour or disfavour of the enterprize: And therefore that it would be most perilous of all other to himself to seem to have taken knowledge of such a slippery negotiation, without immediate participating of it to the King himself. For the King's mistress had so many, and specially so many women-counsellors, as it would not be possible to keep it secret. But admit, that the King were utterly ignorant of this whole plot, indeed then

“ was

76 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ was it as improbable, on the other side, that he
 “ Majesty, yea, or your Lordship either, would
 “ vouchsafe to entertain any such intelligence from
 “ the King’s mistress apart; and that it would be
 “ an office of likelihood more agreeable to our Em-
 “ bassador, and other friends, because the end of this
 “ affectation was like in time to breed new embroil-
 “ ments in this state, in case their peace with *Spain*
 “ should be accorded on for the present, &c. Now
 “ on the other side, to break with the King himself
 “ bluntly in such a mystery, which either he knew
 “ not, or would in no sort seem to know of, it had
 “ as many inconvenients. First, it would pur-
 “ chase him much perfecter malice from the King’s
 “ mistress, in case he should be the first discloser of
 “ it to the King, who could not long conceal it
 “ from her, than that it could assure him of an
 “ equal love from the King to counterpoise it.
 “ Again, this infecrecy first detected in them, to
 “ whom the matter was committed at the first, would
 “ be likelier to discourage them from proceeding
 “ any further at all in it, than to draw himself into
 “ the credit to have the managing of it hereafter.
 “ Besides, it might increase their present jealousy
 “ of his near intelligence with *England*; for altho’
 “ he should discover the merchant, from whom he
 “ had the first scent of this whole business, which
 “ *Naunton* thought he would hardly do; yet there
 “ would be no sound satisfaction to a jealous head;
 “ but that he might have notice hereof from *Eng-
 land* also. His third consultation was of making
 “ his way into this negotiation by the Constable,
 “ on whom he now relies the most here, to whom
 “ he might in this form intimate this secret: As if
 “ the King was privy to it, he might find, that his
 “ own subjects were not secret enough in concealing
 “ it; and if he were not privy to it, that then he
 “ must needs accept it as a pledge of a stranger’s
 “ fide-

“ fidelity, to have first disclosed it ; and so that hav-
 “ ing concluded his suits here with this dangerous
 “ faithfulness, he should add this his offence against
 “ the King’s mistress for a new peremptory reason
 “ of his departure hence so much instanced already,
 “ of his departure from such a place, where he
 “ could not by any retiring keep his ears unacces-
 “ sary from such secrets, which he could not define,
 “ whether it were not more servile for him to reveal,
 “ or to conceal. *Naunton* replied to this, that, in
 “ case the King and his mistress should both have
 “ joined in this design ; yet it was unlikely, that the
 “ matter could be already so far ripened, as that
 “ they should be resolved here, how far her Majesty
 “ would take liking of such a correspondence : and
 “ admit that haply a daughter of the Constable’s
 “ may come in consequence to marry with this young
 “ heir a breeding, that so he may be brought in to
 “ back and strengthen such a succession ; yet it was
 “ to be presumed, that the King and his mistress
 “ would not in any wise have this secret first broach-
 “ ed and communicated unto him by any other be-
 “ fore by themselves ; nor that he could hear it of
 “ any other before of themselves, without present ap-
 “ prehension of such jealousies, as might render
 “ him all out as inclinable to tender the succession
 “ of his nephew as of his daughter, that can be but
 “ a Queen at the fairest. And therefore that this
 “ too timely informing the Constable in this nice
 “ point might prove an utter break-neck to the pro-
 “ ceeding of this whole course ; which would not on-
 “ ly cast him short of his own particular desired
 “ employment by them here, but make his office
 “ already begun there in *England* fruitless and abor-
 “ tive. So that in the end *Naunton*’s conclusion
 “ was, that his safest and surest way to come to his
 “ own ends would be to wrap up the whole project
 “ in

“ in a deep and patient secrecy, specially till he
 “ should receive answer from your Lordship, how to
 “ prosecute, or omit it. And *Perez’s* conclusion
 “ was, that *Naunton* had beguiled him in hastening
 “ *Constance* so fast away, as he was fain to precipitate
 “ himself into this slippery motion, before he had
 “ laboured his wits, and beaten out all his quid-
 “ dities of consultation, how he might best have
 “ husbanded such an overture to his own most ad-
 “ vantage, either here or there : and that, if it were
 “ to begin again, he would have studied it to have
 “ brought all his ends closer together, before he
 “ would have written any word hereof to your
 “ Lordship. *Naunton* answered him, that he was
 “ already assured of this, that their secrecy in *Eng-
 “ land* would be such, as it should be intirely in
 “ his own power, after his answer received thence,
 “ to make the best proof and improvement of ei-
 “ ther his employment affected, or of his fidelity to
 “ the King, and of all the honour and favour, that
 “ he can expect to redound upon him from such an
 “ office, as if he had never written of it at all thi-
 “ ther. If these shall be come to your Lordship
 “ before your Lordship’s answer shall be made unto
 “ him, I most humbly beseech your Lordship to
 “ make such use of these my informations, as he
 “ may not suspect, that your Lordship hath taken
 “ deeper instructions in this mystery from *Naunton’s*
 “ pen, than themselves in their own letters thought
 “ they had reason to deliver. He bears me in hand,
 “ that *Marenco* is nothing so privy to his own pri-
 “ vate drifts herein, as he hath made *Naunton*. Now,
 “ for his late instance to be dismissed hence, he
 “ holds it out still, but somewhat remissly, lest his
 “ first motion of it should seem to have proceeded
 “ more of choler than of deliberation. He told me
 “ yesterday he would take this counsel of his ene-
 “ mies;

ies; viz. as they delay his answer, till they shall see what hand they can make of her Majesty about their present affairs in hands, so will he *festinare quæ lentè* in his pursuit now for this favour of his mission hence, till he shall have received answer from your Lordship concerning his welcome thither. It is a just comedy to consider how all parts are played in their scene. First, *Perez*, the subject of the interlude, plays the sick-bedrid man, and will not be known to walk so much as one day in a week within his own chamber, so dejected he finds himself both in mind and body at this unkindness. He is fain to be his own secretary, notwithstanding this faintness, and to write his mind himself; his two solicitors, *Marenco* and *Gil de Mesa*, being such demi-friends, as are like to speak one word to please him, and two to please them, to whom he sends them to complain. The King himself plays the mute, and will not be known ever once to have heard, much less to have believed, any such imputation against him, as he hath taken all this hold on. Madame professeth nothing but zeal to relieve him still, and is greatly fearful of making such a loss. The Constable, after ten days ruminating on the matter, sends him word, that he can perceive no such conceit in the King; but that he both loves and trusts him, and is most ready to grant whatsoever he can demand, maugre the emulations and envies of a sort of them, that knew nothing so much as he. And *La Verine*, according to his occupation, preaches nothing but the King's love towards him. If peace proceed, that he, his whole family and goods, their restitution shall be all comprehended in the treaty. If not, then that *d'Aumale* shall not be received by the King, but all his goods here given to *Perez*, in lieu of those he hath left in

“ Spain.

80 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ *Spain* *. But his opinion by the way is, that, w
 “ all is done, they will not accord upon this pea
 “ and then that the King will make a kingly w
 “ once by all the *moyen* he can raise; but all
 “ intended to win an honourable peace throu
 “ out *France*, that after he may retire himself
 “ he hath long desired, into his private pleas
 “ and eases, without clogging himself any m
 “ with these public incumbrances: That w
 “ he shall thus have made himself a King inde
 “ he is resolved to make choice of some
 “ special counsellors, to hold always about hi
 “ amongst whom *Perez* is destinated to be none
 “ the least, &c. So that he will have patience y
 “ while, to bear with those envies, till their ful
 “ shall be accomplished, &c. These sweet char
 “ though he cannot build his faith upon them,
 “ he feels himself tickled with them for the tim
 “ and takes this contentation out of his own wisd
 “ and experience, that he cannot be so simple as
 “ believe them. But *Sancy* † takes a quite contr

* In the negotiations for the peace at *Vervins*, *Henry IV.* persisted strongly on *Perez*'s pardon: but the *Spaniards* alleged, that he having fled from the Inquisition, the King could not pardon him; nor, if he returned to *Spain*, hinder that Court from seizing him. In several of his letters *Perez* speaks of *Henry IV.* having promised him not to restore the Duke d' *Aumale* at the instance of *Spain*, until his wife, children, and estate, were restored to him; and of that King's having persisted in that resolution until this difficulty, concerning the inquisition, was started by the *Spaniards*. *Geddes, ubi supra*, p. 402.

† *Nicholas de Harlay*, Baron de *Sancy*, who was sent over by the King into *England* in 1596. He had formerly been Master of the Requests, and had engaged his whole fortune, in order to raise a body of *Swiss* troops for the service of *Henry III.* 1588; and was afterwards Intendant of the Finances, in which post he was succeeded by *Monfr. de Rosny*, afterwards Duke of *Sally*. *Mr. de Perceux*, in his *Histoire de Henry IV.* Part II. says, he was a man of great intrepidity, and feared no person when he acted for his Master's service; but was somewhat rough and free in his language towards him.

“ *COU*

“ course to all the rest, to encounter his choler with
 “ choler. Why? Hath he not his pension duly
 “ paid him? Is he not made counsellor *d’Estat* for
 “ his reputation? And whither will he go? Or were
 “ he absent here, whither could he betake himself
 “ more advisedly than hither, to be either compre-
 “ hended in this peace, if it go forward; or to live
 “ at ease upon his pension, if war continue? This
 “ chiding part nettles him more than all the rest.
 “ He hath written to this his chastiser a very round
 “ letter above all the rest. And in this heat he hath
 “ imparted to me that deep secret, which he hath
 “ often glanced at heretofore, but would never elu-
 “ cidate it till now. I am bold to participate it to
 “ your Lordship by so sure a bearer, as the last mat-
 “ ter of weight, that I am now like to get of him;
 “ for which I account myself more beholding to his
 “ present choler, than I could be to all his former
 “ kindneses.

“ At his living so domestically with *Sancy* the
 “ last summer was a twelve-month, after inter-
 “ course of due confidence between them, *Sancy* at
 “ length being great, as it should seem, delivered
 “ himself into this midwife’s hands of a vain ostenta-
 “ tion of his own estate and wealth, that he had
 “ gained such and such a huge mass of treasure by
 “ gaming and play: That he had furnished many
 “ of the King’s greatest necessities of himself alone,
 “ what by the loan of his own stock unto him, and
 “ what by the pawning of a great value of rich jew-
 “ els into *Germany* for his use: That he made ac-
 “ count the King would have finished all his wars
 “ here in *France* within a year or two at most; and
 “ that then he had promised to repay him the first
 “ of all the debts he owed, and to lend him under-
 “ hand, being Superintendent of his Finances, some
 “ 150,000 crowns for two years. Now that with
 “ this means, and by the intelligences, obligations,

“ and assistances of his many friends, which he h
 “ treasured up in *Suisse*, and those confines,
 “ would, at his pleasure, without any difficulty
 “ all, make his entrance into the State of *Mil*
 “ take the Town itself, and possess himself of t
 “ Duchy. Yea, he was so ready in laying out
 “ this expedition in maps and medials, which
 “ had ready-drawn, and limned out by him, as .
 “ *rez* could not but amuse himself at the blind
 “ of his ambition. Had he not been alike free
 “ committing unto him divers other secrets of c
 “ sequence; as of the King’s late capital spl
 “ against the Duke of *Bouillon*; of his like diffide
 “ and exceptions against your Lordship; of
 “ new-entertained design touching this new-fo
 “ succession, &c. a man might have imagined, t
 “ this had been but a feigned confidence, devised
 “ make trial of *Perez*, either of his judgment
 “ believing, or of his secrecy in keeping such an
 “ terprize to himself.

“ Not long after this secret thus imparted to l
 “ *rez*, the King grew into this frankness with *Sa*
 “ to tell him, how the Constable had two or three ti
 “ wondered at *Sancy*’s so much engaging himself;
 “ all his estate so deeply in the King’s affairs, as
 “ did. *Certes*, saith he, *either he loves your Maj*
 “ *more than one man can love another; or else*
 “ *hath some bigb design in his head answerabl*
 “ *this deep obligation he seeks to fasten on your M*
 “ *jesty*. The King answered him briefly, that
 “ the reason of *Sancy*’s undertaking for him v
 “ *que se brusle tout en amour de moy*. This too m
 “ insinuation of the King to *Sancy Perez* w
 “ needs interpret it for a suspicious surmise of
 “ King’s own head, suddenly discharged upon l
 “ in the Constable his enemy’s name, haply to
 “ serve what countenance *Sancy* would set on suc
 “ charge, being taken at unawares. And he in
 “ h

“ hereupon, that either *Sancy* had opened this af-
 “ fection in a like manner to some other body,
 “ that may have betrayed it to the King; or else
 “ that the King of himself hath some such plot in
 “ apprehension. For his own part, he protesteth
 “ unto me, that he never imparted it to any but on-
 “ ly to *Marengo* at *Roan*; and that then he con-
 “ jured him to keep this only secret from the Earl
 “ of *Essex* at his coming into *England*; which whe-
 “ ther *Marengo* did, or not, your Lordship can best
 “ guess. For myself, he neither bad me nor for-
 “ bad me to communicate it to your Lordship.
 “ If *Sancy*, in his ostentative humour, have opened
 “ this his own aspiring unto any other, it may be
 “ that the detection hereof hath been one of the
 “ principal causes, among others, of his late dis-
 “ grace with the King. It may be again, that this
 “ affectation was not the least cause of his late
 “ change in religion, whereby, seeking to make him
 “ more capable of the end of his designs, it seems
 “ he hath defeated himself of the means, whereby
 “ to come to do it. I doubt he is now so far off
 “ from borrowing any such great sums of overplus
 “ out of the King’s coffers, as he will hardly ever
 “ recover his lending.

“ The King hath now ended his diet, and is grown
 “ more accessible than before. Duke *Montpensier*,
 “ and Duke *de Mayenne*, and *Le Grand*, were sent
 “ for in the other day, after a reasonable stay made
 “ at the door: But Duke *d’Espernon*, that was in
 “ their company, was left waiting a good space af-
 “ ter them. He is a suitor for *Matignon*’s late go-
 “ vernment in *Guienne*. The King offers it Mar-
 “ shal *Biron*; but he refuses it, unless he may have
 “ other conditions adjoined to it. This refusal of
 “ the Marshal malcontented the King no less than
 “ the King’s refusal of the other competitor doth
 “ *d’Espernon*. He was this last week an intercessor

84 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ to the King in favour of an old Financier, whose
 “ acquittance for all old back-reckonings he had
 “ procured to be signed at the last King’s hands ;
 “ but now the old man is called to a rear-account
 “ by *de Rosny*, and the other new officers. The
 “ King being somewhat pressed by *d’Espernon* to
 “ ratify this act and discharge granted by his pre-
 “ decessor, whereof he produced himself for wit-
 “ nefs, &c. was thus repulsed in plain terms, *Tho’*
 “ *you were a mignon to my predecessor, yet I will*
 “ *have it known unto you, that I will have no mignon*
 “ *at all.* Those, that are acquainted with *d’Esper-*
 “ *non’s* nature, can hardly persuade themselves, that
 “ he can swallow such a pill without a refection
 “ sooner or later. He departed exceeding silent ;
 “ yet some give it out, that he is going about I
 “ know not what enterprize for *Calais*.”

On the 25th of the same month *December, 1597.*
 O. S. Mr. Naunton wrote the following letter to the
 Earl of *Essex* :

It may please your Lordship,

“ My so bounden duty must still embolden me
 “ to present your Lordship with an account of ~~that~~
 “ little I can learn while I remain here. I say too
 “ much, when I say it is too little, it being in effect
 “ nothing at all. But as, when I have seemed here-
 “ tofore to write somewhat, I might truly say, that
 “ *boc aliquid nihil erat*, so it may be, *e converso*,
 “ that now, when I must profess to write nothing,
 “ *boc nihil erit aliquid*. Their extraordinary ab-
 “ struseness in their late consultations here hath ex-
 “ cited Mr. *Edmondes* as extraordinarily to find them.
 “ The certainty, if there be any, I must leave them
 “ to his intimation, who hath omitted no means to
 “ answer his charge. For myself, the nearest cer-
 “ tainty that I can reach is, that they can yet
 “ re-

“ resolve on no certainty. We have been men of
 “ many minds since my last by Mr. *Castell*, which
 “ I then made account should have been my last
 “ from hence. The Clergy-negotiators grossly
 “ preached at the first nothing but their peace, and
 “ by consequence themselves the peace-makers.
 “ Here were harangues printed in *Italian*, both hor-
 “ tatory and gratulatory, as of a deed done; and
 “ all, that they might not be thought to have done
 “ just nothing in all their long treaty. The *French*
 “ hammered upon the same anvil, but with a diverse
 “ stroke, that themselves might not be thought to
 “ have hung forth false colours all this while. To
 “ persuade us all the kindlier, and yet so as when
 “ we were deceived, we might blame none but our-
 “ selves, they still objected petty scruples, and
 “ would needs seem incredulous of the winding up
 “ of this peace, that we might obliquely be drawn
 “ to be so much the more credulous and apprehen-
 “ sive of it, upon their so maidenly dissembling of
 “ it. To this end it was given out, that when the
 “ Cardinal seemed most greedy of peace, it was
 “ wisdom to suspect his most intention stood for
 “ war; that whensoever he should haply appear in
 “ profession of hostility indeed, we might be so
 “ subtil, as to conceive, that he then sought intirely
 “ for peace. One while he would hold it out, to
 “ try, whether the King could gather his forces
 “ again into the field; and then forsooth he would
 “ grow more amiable, as he did before *Amiens*.
 “ Another while all this peace was to be discussed,
 “ and kept secret, till the Protestants should be re-
 “ duced to like better of it. And if they shall
 “ shew themselves aggrieved, and in jealousy of it,
 “ they are to be answered, that their own jealous
 “ machination and practices to increase upon the
 “ State at home, while the Catholics are employing

“ and spending themselves upon the foreign enemy,
 “ have been the principal inducement, that enforced
 “ the King to hearken after their unreasonable peace;
 “ so as the conclusion was, that they could neither
 “ make any sound war abroad, for fear of our un-
 “ sound home neighbours; and much less any sound
 “ peace at home. Thus still these true-meaning men
 “ would deceive us with nothing but mere truths,
 “ pretending a faint misdoubt of new wars, that
 “ we might apprehend the more strongly, that they
 “ intended nothing but a smothered peace. And
 “ yet by the way, this one allegation of the Pro-
 “ testants dangerous encroachments must serve one
 “ turn more, to impeach the late forwardness for
 “ ratifying the articles pretended for their satis-
 “ faction, that other consideration being adjoined
 “ to it of injealousing the Catholics, and re-inclin-
 “ ing them to their old humour of the League. But if
 “ we will not be thus quick-witted to apprehend all
 “ by contraries, specially when we shall hear, that
 “ the King of *Spain* hath lately repaired his credit
 “ with all his merchants, both for his debts paid,
 “ and for the finishing of his future charge for these
 “ twenty months to come; now seeing no such rea-
 “ son, why he should affect to redeem this *French*
 “ peace with such loud conditions as they have
 “ given out; their discourse made a stoop from
 “ a peace to a truce, that would fit both their turn
 “ best of all; the *Spaniard* having, for the present,
 “ to arm his territories in *Italy*, until their neighbour
 “ broils there shall be drawn to a head; and the
 “ *French* having to pursue his enterprize of *Bre-*
 “ *tagne*, to make so necessary an example of Duke
 “ *Mercoeur* to all the rest of his Realm. Yea, and with-
 “ al, this suggestion of truce may haply whet her
 “ Majesty more than that former of peace itself, for
 “ fear that while the King shall have gained this
 “ time to chastise Duke *Mercoeur*, lest the King of
 “ *Spain*,

“ *Spain*, besides his answering his present occasions
 “ in *Italy*, shall steal a like leisure to attempt some
 “ enterprize upon *England* and *Ireland*. But when
 “ this purpose is answered, that neither the King of
 “ *Spain* will of likelihood suffer Duke *Mercoeur* to
 “ perish for any such petty revenge upon her Ma-
 “ jesty, nor the *French* King will dare to lose her
 “ Majesty and States for so wreaking of his anger
 “ upon Duke *Mercoeur*. Here then comes in their
 “ dash of *non point* peace, nor truce at all.

“ Hence we may suppose this to have been the
 “ mathematical circle and compass of their policy
 “ all this while, that as they have heretofore practi-
 “ sed to build and work out their peace with *Spain*
 “ out of their confederacy with *England*, and the
 “ *Low Countries*; so that now the Cardinal hath
 “ apprehended, that by the very like fetch they
 “ have sought to advance and augment the strength
 “ and conditions of those confederacies out of this
 “ his late pretended conformity to pacificate with
 “ them: And therefore that it was time for him to
 “ disclaim his zeal to such pacification, before the ap-
 “ prehension thereof should have soldered the State of
 “ *England*, and the *Low Countries*, too fast unto
 “ them. To suppress and cure this inconvenience by
 “ retention, and concealing all they can, the Gene-
 “ ral *Franciscan* is come home possessed with a
 “ dumb spirit, and lives, as it were, interred in the
 “ cloister of the *Cordeliers*. Surmises were cast abroad
 “ in Court, that the King had had two secret con-
 “ ferences with him, one in the forest, and another
 “ by night. Whether it be, that having nothing to
 “ raise any current matter of, they imagined their
 “ seeming close and secret will be their best rhetoric
 “ to make us suspect what they would fainest have
 “ us; or whether they are confounded and ashamed
 “ within themselves, to have given out such confi-
 “ dent and facing assurances of their abortive peace;

88 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ they have now nothing left to speak of but I know
 “ not what *English* Embassadors already on the way ;
 “ for whom there must be permission of post-horses
 “ bespoken in all the haste on this side the sea, be-
 “ fore they be booted and spurred on that side, as
 “ far as we can conceive. It seems their own con-
 “ science of their disguised proceedings, both with
 “ her Majesty, and the Cardinal, hath inspired them
 “ with some misdoubt of a retaliation from them
 “ both ; as if, finding themselves of both sides thus
 “ provoked by them. they might haply grow to
 “ accord between themselves apart, so to chastise
 “ these deceivers with their own wiles.

“ But to leave this jargon about their bottomless
 “ peace with *Spain*, for the Legate to amuse him-
 “ self upon, who sits still close upon it at *St. Quintin's*,
 “ and to come to the war of *Bretagne*, which
 “ seems to be the more resolved on of the two. It
 “ is now more than a fortnight since *Mont-Martin*
 “ was address'd thither to procure all necessary pro-
 “ visions in a readiness against mid-*January* of their
 “ style. But since that expedition is rejourned till
 “ the next month, by reason of many wants and
 “ difficulties objected. It were fair for the King,
 “ if he could at once intirely recover that *Duchy*
 “ into his hands. As for *Savoy*, *Desdiguieres* pro-
 “ ceeds there still like a Conqueror, beating the
 “ Duke's forces, and spoiling his country, if our
 “ printed pamphlets may be believed. And *Picardy*
 “ is yet as clear as ordinarily it hath been in the
 “ reign of their most flourishing Princes. But all
 “ the doubt is, how the Cardinal will be kept in
 “ within his *French* bounds, when the King shall
 “ have drawn out his forces so far off. Four thou-
 “ sand *Englishmen* would have come exceeding sea-
 “ sonably to have served his turn at such a list as
 “ this ; for we doubt he will hardly be strong enough
 “ of himself to conquer Duke *Mercoeur*, and defend
 “ *Picardy*

“ *Picardy* both at once. And although he should
 “ leave the Constable, *de Mayne*, and Marshal *de*
 “ *Biron*, all three behind him, to guard their back-
 “ door, as it is yet determined; yet the *French*
 “ remembrance of the suspicious wavering of his
 “ best-resolved men the other day before *Amiens*,
 “ when it came to the push there, being laid toge-
 “ ther with the late successful enterprizes, both of
 “ Marshal *de Biron* for *Marieburge*, and of *d’Esper-*
 “ *non* for *Calais*, besides divers other former de-
 “ signs frustrated in the like sort, they make the
 “ most men apprehend, that little will be done any
 “ thing effectually, without the King’s own pre-
 “ sence. We must leave this point therefore as in-
 “ discussed as the former, till they have received
 “ some heartening resolution from her Majesty,
 “ which is now wearisomely longed for on all
 “ hands.

“ These late cross and perplex overtures have
 “ overturned the top of the new-affected State,
 “ whereof I wrote in my former, which begun too
 “ violently to continue. The King was not so lofty
 “ then, but since this physic he is become as low-
 “ ly, that I use no lower terms. The Great ones
 “ about him do now complain them of his too-too
 “ unseemly familiarities with them, which are too
 “ homely for my pen to express unto your Lordship.
 “ I must borrow a piece of one of *Tully’s* familiarest
 “ epistles to report his Stoicism in one particular,
 “ that is nothing less than a *Stoic* in many others.
 “ *Aimus Stoici*, saith he, *crepitus æquè liberos ac*
 “ *vultus esse oportere*. This, methinks, should be
 “ one of those liberties, that a Prince should least
 “ use, especially in presence of such, as Duke *de*
 “ *Mayne*, *Le Grand*, and others of that quality, who
 “ have not spared, within these few days, to speak
 “ so disdainfully of this and divers other more gross
 “ *indecorums*, ordinarily used in his nakedness, whiles
 “ he

“ he dresses or shifts himself ; *tant de figneries*, said
 “ they, as they bear themselves ashamed of him, as
 “ of a transported, or rather a transformed and an
 “ enchanted person ; and as I can but blush thus to
 “ shadow them to your Lordship ; and yet I am in
 “ duty to glance thus at them, that your Lord-
 “ ship may not err, as I know many do, in their
 “ admiration of a person most admired, where he is
 “ least known.

“ These same anxieties have likewise diverted that
 “ other project of the King’s mistress’s marriage.
 “ As he projected and cast himself immediately out
 “ of his garboils into her bosom ; so now he is of
 “ force to quit her lap, and to return to his former
 “ bias into the field. It seems her fortune hath
 “ conspired with her quality to render her a more
 “ kindly companion under a tent, than under a ca-
 “ nopy. Yet, lest all I have collected heretofore, as
 “ well out of *Sancy’s* own assertion to *Perez*, as out
 “ of divers other circumstances concerning that par-
 “ ticular affectation, lest this should seem jejune
 “ conjecturals, I have this to add since my former,
 “ that here was first a seasonable bruit raised of the
 “ death of the King’s wife ; and thereupon that *Ma-*
 “ *dam Sourdy*, the King’s mistress’s aunt, wanted
 “ not the audacity to move the King to entertain
 “ her niece in marriage, and that with such an ex-
 “ postulatory kind of instance, as extorted this sen-
 “ sible answer from him, that such a motion would
 “ be but a means to broach new civil broils before
 “ their old were half-settled ; and that he would in
 “ effect tender both her own estate, as a husband ;
 “ and her childrens, as a father should do, howso-
 “ ever the times must inforce her to dispense with
 “ him for the bare name and title affected, &c.
 “ He is now coming to *Paris*, from whence he pur-
 “ poseth to *Monceaux*, thence to *Fontainebleau*, and
 “ so towards *Bretagne*.

“ As

England, France, and Brussels. 91

“ As for the intelligence tendered thither by *Marenco*’s and *Perez*’s late letters ; *Perez* hath since, upon certain spleens entertained between them, conceived so dangerously of *Marenco*’s nature, and of his privity thereunto, as he now begins to congratulate it to himself, that he hath yet gone no farther in that design : And were it not, that he stays himself with an expectation of your Lordship’s answer, he would have been opening all the matter to the Constable ere this, of pure jealousy, lest the other should prevent him in that good office. He is greedy and sharp-set to snatch at this new overture of our newly-bruited Embassadors, to accompany them in their return homeward, notwithstanding all the caresses, that they can entertain him withal here ; which makes me in desire to hasten so much the more from hence ; might I once receive your Lordship’s approbation thereunto.

“ *Madame*’s last protestation to him, for her taking him with her into *Lorraine*, is proved but a compliment ; yet very excusable in her, that hath been so much deceived herself in that subject. She is returned hither a sickly maid, and heard the sermon this afternoon in her bed.

“ And thus, after pardon craved for all my boldness, I most humbly take leave.

“ *Your Lordship’s devoted and bounden,*

Decemb. 25. O. S.

[1597.]

Ro. Naunton.

Mr. *Naunton*’s next letter to the Earl of *Essex* was on the 6th of *January*, 1597-8, O. S. in which he observes, that, in one of his former letters, he had informed his Lordship, that *Perez* had written a discontent letter to *Monfr. de Sancy*, who thought proper not to return any answer, till *Perez*’s heat

was

was abated; and then he wrote one in soft terms, diverting such imputations, as Perez had apprehended against him, to some want of ingenuity in Marenco's relations, who, being the sole messenger between them, seems to have framed and fitted his interlocutions more to his own turn-serving, than to either of their very meanings. This sweet demeanour of Sancy recovered Perez strait to his old correspondence with him, as a man all out as soon reconciled as offended.

“ Here arrived, adds Mr. Naunton, soon after
 “ these inclosed of Signr. Bassadona's. Their con-
 “ tents he found so apt to serve many turns, as he
 “ could not suppress them an hour by him; but to
 “ Sancy they were sent. The King was the day
 “ following entertained by Sancy at his house.
 “ Whereupon Perez will needs presume, that *Bassadona's*
 “ letters were communicated to him. The
 “ King was no sooner gone hence to *Monceaux*,
 “ but Sancy sent back *Bassadona's* letters, with these
 “ other inclosed of his own, to Perez upon *Wednesday*
 “ last. Perez took heart upon this answer, as if
 “ the Earl of *Effex's* estate in *England*, being so
 “ nearly linked with his own in *France*, had now ren-
 “ dered him so much the more redoubtable in their
 “ eyes here, than he had felt himself hard before.
 “ Now as *Bassadona's* letters took a stroke here to
 “ establish an estimation of Perez's credit in *Eng-*
 “ *land* with them here, as he bears himself in hand;
 “ so must Naunton needs convey these other of
 “ Sancy's thither, to imprint a no less reputation
 “ there of his interest in their opinions here. I must
 “ have been much ashamed thus to have taken upon
 “ me to present your Lordship with these idle pre-
 “ mises, had not ensued upon their sequel a matter
 “ of more consideration, and particularly pertinent
 “ to a speciality, that I so lately treated of more at
 “ large in those I sent by Mr. *Castell*. And yet have
 “ I all the rather thus deduced my narration *usque*
 “ *ab*

“ *ab ovo*, that your Lordship might the clearer
 “ see into the whole tenor and procedure of their
 “ doings; and how one overture hath drawn on
 “ another from the beginning of their breach, in
 “ which my former letters left them.

“ This gentle farewell, & me, at soles, ama, it
 “ wrought so kindly with *Perez*, especially he being,
 “ on the other side, now half-discouraged by your
 “ Lordship’s so long silence, that the proposition
 “ of their late secret, which I sent by *Constance*,
 “ was like now to work him no great good from
 “ thence, that needs he must to *Sancy* without any
 “ body’s privity but his own; and, cutting off all
 “ those former doubtful deliberations, whether to
 “ broach this great secret, of which he had now
 “ grown great, and that in great pain so long a time,
 “ unto the King himself, or unto his Mistress,
 “ or unto the Constable, he thought it should be
 “ best employed to renew that old, and almost
 “ now abolished league of secrecy, which had been
 “ contracted and confirmed by so many mutual con-
 “ fidences between *Sancy* and himself; to renew it,
 “ I say, by the intimation of that whole discourse
 “ touching the King’s Mistress’s affected intelligence
 “ with our Ambassador. After *Sancy*’s religious
 “ protestation in the faith of a gentleman never to
 “ betray his author, nor to treat hereof at any hand
 “ without both their consents and privities, he de-
 “ livered unto him the story all at length, how he
 “ came to the sight of *Grosso*’s letters to our Embas-
 “ sador; and how they were committed to his trust,
 “ to be safely conveyed into *England*. This one
 “ only circumstance he tells me that he disguised a
 “ little, *viz.* that he had sent them sealed up, and
 “ indorsed to our Ambassadors; but that he had in-
 “ closed them for their more assurance, &c. within
 “ a letter of his own, that he had sent to the Earl of

“ *Essex*,

“ *Essex*, in congratulation of his late return. Now,
 “ whether your Lordship had caused them to be
 “ delivered according to their indorsement, or might
 “ haply have intercepted this ; that, he said, he must
 “ leave to the event, as a thing, whereof he rested
 “ uncertain. *Naunton* found him so suspiciously
 “ forward of himself, for having intimated all this
 “ matter thus to *Sancy*, without attending your
 “ Lordship’s answer any longer, according as before
 “ he had promised, that he would ; that he held it
 “ bootless to expostulate this incongruity, it being
 “ now all too late, after the deed was done, and past
 “ preventing. To insinuate himself the deeper with
 “ *Sancy*, he exaggerated the greatness of this his
 “ confidence with him, by preparing it with his dis-
 “ fidence in others, as namely in the King, in the
 “ King’s Mistress, and in the Constable ; none of
 “ whom he durst trust with this mystery. *Sancy* en-
 “ tertained this his freedom with all zeal of recip-
 “ cal protestations ; in the first place much approving
 “ his wisdom, that he had not intermeddled himself
 “ in such a tickle piece of service ; and that he had
 “ not trusted himself to the slippery insolvency, and
 “ inconstancy, yea, the indiscretion of either the
 “ King or his Mistress in so dangerous and so near
 “ a concernment, as this was to them both. And,
 “ secondly, for his own secrecy, he assured him,
 “ that, for his own part, he was so far off from im-
 “ parting it to the King, as he denounced unto him
 “ beforehand, that in case *Perez* should hereafter,
 “ upon any alteration of this his now present advice,
 “ declare unto the King, how he had acquainted
 “ *Sancy* with this matter, that he would deny it to
 “ his head, that ever he had received knowledge
 “ thereof from him ; and this in respect of the dan-
 “ ger he apprehended might betide him from the
 “ King, if it should once appear to him that *Sancy*
 “ had

“ had ever taken notice of this mystery. And,
 “ thirdly, to requite this so constant confidence of
 “ *Perez* with a due correspondence, he made no
 “ spare to re-acquaint him with all that ever he had
 “ heard tending to the same effect; which was, that
 “ the King had already received advertisement out
 “ of *England*, how our Ambassador had vaunted of
 “ it there, that he himself had so interested himself
 “ in the King’s Mistress, and won her to such an
 “ exorbitant conformity, as that she had offered her
 “ service and deepest intelligence to her Majesty, to
 “ be entertained by his mediation: so as, saith he,
 “ after she had thus fondly put herself into such a
 “ man’s power, that could keep her counsel no better,
 “ she was driven to drown and smother this her folly
 “ with an artificial impudence, as to glory of it ironi-
 “ cally before the King in *Sancy’s* own presence, as of
 “ an infallible attestation of her sound allegiance to-
 “ wards the King, that our Ambassador, of all others,
 “ had thus sought to draw it into question; wherein,
 “ he said, she had played her part with that assurance
 “ of spirit and countenance both, as I, for my part,
 “ could believe nothing less than any such imputation
 “ against her until now I have laid this light unto it,
 “ which you have presently given me.

“ The day before this meeting of theirs, *Nauntton*
 “ had advertised *Antonio Perez* of an affectation,
 “ which *Sancy* was noted to have borne, to have fore-
 “ spoken the government of *Calais*, against when-
 “ soever it should return into the King’s subjection.
 “ And it was then suspected between them two,
 “ that the King’s Mistress had practised to put him
 “ by the suit, upon a spleen taken at his secret op-
 “ position against the King’s marriage with her;
 “ whereof I have before advertised. But it was since
 “ conceived upon the King’s late refavourizing of
 “ him, that he would be now like enough to carry
 “ that imaginary government, specially the King’s
 “ Mistress’s

69 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ Mistress’s puiffance growing to the wane. Now
 “ *Perez* seeing them fo ready to grate upon the
 “ King’s inconstancy and *legereté*, as before, took
 “ his time, in these their fits of freedom to inculc a
 “ mention, first, of peace with *Spain*; and conse-
 “ quently of this government of *Calais*, after it
 “ should be rendered. To the first he said general-
 “ ly, that the King of *Spain* was all for a truce;
 “ and the *French* King all for peace; but that no
 “ man could be more uncertain what the conclusion
 “ would be than himself was yet, who was every
 “ day of a diverse mind, insomuch as now they took
 “ it for an infallible assurance, that he would refuse
 “ such and such a course to-morrow, because he
 “ seemed to like them extraordinarily to-day. To
 “ the next, he said not a word of any affectation of
 “ his own; but he affirmed, that the King had al-
 “ ready passed his promise of that government to
 “ his Mistress and her son, when it should come into
 “ his disposing.

“ All this accords fit with the King’s Mistress’s
 “ course of plotting, that was for her *Englisb* intelli-
 “ gence; yet, in the end, he gave it for his opinion,
 “ that her Grace with the King began to wax
 “ much like to that of his own, and of other
 “ of his favourites, to wit, that it seemed more spe-
 “ cious in shew, than firm in substance; and that
 “ such as were of the nearest observers in court, be-
 “ gan to apprehend, that the King did of late em-
 “ brace her rather out of compassion, and a kind of
 “ commiseration of her estate, what it was like to be,
 “ in case he should cast her off, than out of the old
 “ so ardent and imperious passionateness, which had
 “ now had time enough, whether to allay, or to exa-
 “ tiate, or to spend itself: and this disconceit to
 “ have proceeded partly of the restless importunity
 “ of endless suits, wherewith she and her allies did
 “ pester him; and now haply, partly out of some
 “ further

ther jealousy in the King, that they had been this while privy unto, that this her late trading England was true indeed; yea, and more than rly out of his own natural inconstancy; which, d he not been after a fort enchanted by this Sy- t, would have inmarvelled them all much more, & he could thus long and thus constantly enter- n her, than that he should reject her at the ighth.

From this particular he arose to the general of : King's vacillations and fluctuations, as he med them; of his uncertainness in his counsels, unconstancy in his affections, his palinodizing his resolutions; in a word, his perseveration ly in doing all things à demi: so as he deter- ined all his discourse with this assertion, that no n living could rest or repose himself securely n him. And for his own particular, that he was r so far off from aspiring after any new ambience ler him, as he could not enjoy his old charges hout the aggregation and adjoining of others in nmission with him, who had neither wit, judg- ne, nor experience, to know what appertained he place. Whether he glanced at *Rofny* or not his cypher, there is reason both *pro* and *contra*; it was presently given out upon *Sancy's* refresh- of favour, that the other was down, as still *ratio unius* must be *corruptio alterius*. A man ' say of this function, *unum hoc arbutum non duos eritbacos*; and he, that shall go about to e and couple two such mates in one collar, *jungat vulpes, & mulgeat bircos*."

to return to the Commissioners appointed by een to go to the King of France, Secretary egan his journey from London on the 10th → cf. Feb. *nce* 1597-8 (*k*); and embarking on the 17th

Mr. R. Whyte's letter to Sir Robert Sidney, of the 11th of 1597. Letters of the Sidney family, vol. 2. p. 88, 89.

98 *View of the Negotiations between*

at *Dover*, landed with Sir *Thomas Wylkes* and *Herbert*, the other Commissioners, at *Dieppe*; from whence, on the 18th, he wrote to Mr. *Edmond* (1), that he intended to go to *Paris*, and written to the King, that he could not begin conference without first speaking with his Majesty. He wrote another letter to Mr. *Edmond* de *Magny*, on the 28th of the same month (m), he designed to be at *Paris* the next day: but his colleague, Sir *Thomas Wylkes*, falling sick soon after they landed, died at *Rean* on the 2d of *March* (n).

The treaty at *Vervins* had been already for some time begun; the instructions to Messrs. *de Belli* and *de Sillery*, the *French* King's Embassadors, bore dated the 28th of *January* 1597-8, N.S. (o); they having arrived there on the 7th of *February* N.S. as the President *Richardot* and the Comman-*Taxis*, the King of *Spain*'s Embassadors, did the day following (p). In the beginning of *March*, the Secretary *Villeroy* sent Messrs. *de Bellievre* and *Sillery* (q) peremptory orders "to finish their work as soon as they possibly could, without insisting any longer, says he, upon the desires or humors of our neighbours, for which the King has too much regard; for it is certain, that he will do all that they can to overthrow it. His Majesty never could persuade the *Hollanders* to accept the cessation of arms, which you have obtained with great difficulty for them; for the answer is, that they must apply themselves to their superiors: so that I am extremely sorry for the time, which you have lost. However,

(1) Sir *Thomas Edmond*'s MS. State-Papers, vol. 2.

(m) Ibid. p. 25.

(n) Mr. *R. Whyte*'s letter of the

March 1597. Letters of the *Sidney* family, vol. 2. 1

(o) *Memoires de Bellievre & de Sillery*, part 1 p. 1,—17.

de la Haye, 1696.

(p) Ibid. p. 38.

(q) Ibid. p.

King is much obliged to you for this advantage gained by you, though he does think it of much importance. Both the *English* and the *Dutch* are so confounded to see us so resolved upon peace, and in so good a situation of success in it, that they have not known what measures to take, having made a thousand different proposals, especially the *English*, to entangle us, and throw impediments in our way. But they have gained nothing, thanks to God; and I desire you not to believe, that his Majesty will do any thing, which can reasonably prevent him from enjoying the fruit, which you have cultivated; and not to give credit to those, who may give you informations and impressions contrary to this, as I am well assured will be done from *England* and *Holland*, and perhaps from our court itself; for I assure you, that there are here Don *Diego d'Ibarra's*, more dangerous perhaps to *France*, than he who is at *Bruffels*. But you ought to take courage; for our Master is an honest Man, and a Prince of probity and judgment."

On the 14th of the same month of *March*, N. S. : *French* King wrote to his Embassadors (r), to present to an assurance, that no attempt should be made by either side upon the frontiers, on condition, that this agreement be kept secret from his enemies, who might complain of such a cessation of arms, as much as if he had concluded a peace : And, the 24th of that month, several articles were actually agreed upon between the *French* and *Spanish* embassadors (s), particularly the restitution to *France* *Calais*, *Ardes*, *Montbulin*, *Dourlans*, *la Capelle*, *steles* in *Picardy*, *Blavet*, and other places possessed by the King of *Spain* in *Bretagne*; and that the Catholic Majesty should grant a truce for a year,

(r) Ibid. p. 133.

(s) Ibid. p. 143.

100 *View of the Negotiations between*

or six months, to the Queen of *England*, and the *United Provinces*.

The *English* Commissioners were now arrived at *Paris*; the course of whose proceedings will best appear from their own letters, which will be proper to be inserted here at length, as they have never been published before, and seem not to have been seen by *Camden*, whose account of their negotiations is extremely defective and confused; and as they were in all probability drawn up by *Sir Robert Cecil* himself.

That great man was allowed by *Sir Walter Raleigh* to be an *excellent speaker*; but he thought him *no good penman**. But these letters are a sufficient confutation of this last assertion. And indeed *Sir Walter* seems as much too severe to the memory of his old antagonist, in denying his talents as a writer, as he was too charitable in stiling *Henry Howard Earl of Northampton* an *excellent penman*, whose letters and other writings are intolerable for the harshness, pedantry, and obscurity of the style.

The first letter of the *English* Commissioners to the Lords of the Council was as follows (r):

May it please your Lordships,

“ Having now the opportunity of this Messenger
 “ who goeth voluntarily for *England*, we have
 “ thought it not amiss to move to your Lordship
 “ that forasmuch as we can yet hear nothing of the
 “ States Deputies, wherein there can be nothing (as
 “ the wind hath served) but a voluntary slackness,
 “ it will please your Lordship to move your Majesty
 “ that if they have resolved some such artificial delay,
 “ that we may not be tied to their gross cunning,

* Dr *William Rawley's* life of Lord *Bacon*, p. 12. prefixed to his Lordship's *Natural History*, 9th edit. fol. 1670. (r) MS. State-Papers of *Anthony Bacon*, Esq.

“but

England, France, and Brussels. 101

“ but, having dealt with the King according to our
“ instructions, and seen what language he doth hold,
“ to come our ways into *England*, whereby the af-
“ fairs may be still kept in dispute ; which can be no
“ loss to the Queen to win time ; and the scandal of
“ unwillingness to treat (if faith be meant by the
“ *Spanish* King) may yet be taken from her Majesty,
“ and laid upon them, who, having made their
“ sweet of others sour, are fittest for the obliquity of
“ practice and private partiality. Thus much do
“ we write now, out of jealousy of their stay, and
“ with desire to receive some provisional direction,
“ because the dependency on dispatches (when seas
“ are to be passed) is neither safe nor speedy. If
“ otherwise it happen before these lines come, it was
“ but our labour to write ; and that for which we
“ would not have dispatched expressly any body to
“ your Lordships. This day we cannot stir till noon,
“ in respect of the processions for the reduction of
“ *Bretagne*, which are so solemnly performed. And
“ so we humbly take our leaves of your Lord-
“ ships.”

From *Paris* the 8th of *March*,
1597.

Your Lordships most humbly at commandment,

Robert Cecyll,
J. Herbert.

The same day they wrote again to the Lords of
the Council as follows (1) :

May it please your Lordships,

“ Even now that we were taking horse, this letter
“ was brought to me, the Secretary, by a gentle-
“ man,

H 3

(1) Ibid.

102 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ man, that is sent of purpose from the King, to
 “ bring on the States after him. The Duke of *Mer-*
 “ *cœur* comes to the King at *Angers*, and goeth with
 “ him to *Nantes*. By the other letter inclosed, your
 “ Lordships shall see what we desire, and upon what
 “ reason; all which we do submit to her Majesty’s
 “ pleasure to direct us, as to her shall appear most
 “ agreeable. And thus in haste we take our leaves.
 “ From the town of *Paris* this 8th of *March*,
 “ 1597, at two of the clock.

Your Lordships humbly at commandment,

R. Cecyll,
 J. Herbert.

“ If this Gentleman do not find them at *Dieppe*,
 “ their proceedings are but rude with her Majesty.”

On the 14th of the same month, Secretary *Vil-*
lefoi visited Sir *Robert Cecil* by order of the *French*
 King; and the next day gave the *French* Embassa-
 dors at *Vervins* the following account of his confe-
 rence with the *English* Secretary (o).

“ I believe, that Sir *Robert Cecil* has not told me
 “ his commission, at least the secret of it; for he re-
 “ serves that for his Majesty, as is very reasonable.
 “ However, he was willing, that I should believe,
 “ from his language, that his inclination is rather
 “ pacific than warlike. He said, that his Sovereign
 “ was, from her sex, her age, and her temper, more
 “ disposed to peace than to arms: that she had
 “ been at very great expences for some years, from
 “ which she had received less advantage than her
 “ neighbours: that she rejoiced at the prosperity of
 “ the King her good brother, and thought the suc-

(o) *Memoires de Bellievre & de Silleri*, p. 170.

“ cours,

“cours, which she had lent him, well employed,
 “since it was to restore him to what belonged to
 “him, and which had been unjustly contested with
 “him; but that others, meaning the States, had
 “gained considerable advantages. But that it was
 “necessary for them to limit their designs, and con-
 “tent themselves with what was reasonable: That
 “he was astonished at the delay of their Deputies,
 “whom he had waited for in *England* above thirty
 “days; and that, since his arrival in *France*, he had
 “not hastened his journey, in order to give them
 “an opportunity of joining him; notwithstanding
 “which, he had not yet received any news of them:
 “That he was really of opinion, that they were not
 “desirous of a peace; but that the least thing they
 “could do, was to order their Deputies to be there
 “at his arrival, being invited by the King, and his
 “Sovereign, in order that they might also resolve
 “together upon their affairs, as good allies ought
 “to do: That he would wait for them still some
 “days after he had kissed the King’s hands; but
 “that if he saw, that they did not come, he would
 “receive his Majesty’s pleasure, to which that of his
 “Mistress would conform itself. Upon this he in-
 “quired very much, whether the Power, which had
 “been sent for from *Spain*, to treat with his Queen,
 “was arrived. I told him, that I had not yet had
 “any advice of it; but that I thought, that it could
 “not be long delayed, the courier, who had been
 “dispatched for it, having set out on the 25th of the
 “last month. He would not believe, that the mar-
 “riage of the elder *Infanta* with the Cardinal of
 “*Austria*, and the donation of the *Low Countries*,
 “and the County of *Burgundy*, would take place.
 “He thinks, that it is only an artifice, as well to
 “amuse the King, and the Queen his Mistress, as to
 “divide and gain the States, with whom, he is of
 “opinion, there is a secret negotiation carrying on.

“ I represented to him, that such an artifice might
 “ discover, and make an impression upon the minds
 “ of some; but I did not think them strong enough
 “ to make the States change their design, and to lull
 “ them asleep: That hitherto we had lost no ground
 “ there, and we hoped, that we should not lose any
 “ for the future. That I assured myself, that his Mis-
 “ tress, who knew the *Spaniards*, even better than
 “ we did, would not suffer herself to be deceived;
 “ and that the States would be still less liable to be
 “ imposed upon; so that if all this was only a dis-
 “ guise, I thought it would turn more to the preju-
 “ dice and disgrace of the *Spaniards*, than to the
 “ damage of their enemies. Notwithstanding this,
 “ he persisted still in his distrust; so that he said,
 “ that he did not see any preparations for the passage
 “ of the *Infanta*, nor any thing tending towards
 “ such a change. I answered him, that it seemed,
 “ that the peace, which they sought, was the gate,
 “ by which they must enter, and procure both the
 “ one and the other: which he owned to be true,
 “ I learn from him, that all *Frenchmen*, who speak
 “ with him, are not of the same opinion, with rela-
 “ tion to peace: And I tell him, that *England*,
 “ which was more peaceable than *France*, was not
 “ exempt from that evil. He acknowledged this
 “ to me: And at last he would, as I have told you,
 “ make me believe, that he was intirely disposed to
 “ peace, and would absolutely accommodate himself
 “ to his Majesty’s desire. When he shall have
 “ spoken to the King, we shall know more.”

On the $\frac{1}{6}$ of the same month, *March*, Secretary
Villeroi wrote again to the *French* Embassadors at *Ver-*
vins (w), that Sir *Robert Cecil* was expected to be with
 the King at *Angers* the next day: “ You will see,
 “ says he, by a letter of Monsr. *de la Boderie*, which

(w) Ibid. p. 179.

“ I send you, the language, which he has talk’d.
 “ Monfr. *de Maisse*, who arrived here to-day,
 “ tells me, that Sir *Robert* has talked to him only of
 “ war. Perhaps he has two kinds of language, which
 “ he employs according to the humour and taste of
 “ those, with whom he converses. But, I hope,
 “ we shall make him speak in time clearly, if there
 “ is any possibility of bringing an *Englishman* to
 “ that. But we have no account of the Deputies
 “ of *Holland*. Some think, that they have stopped,
 “ that they might not be here, when the peace,
 “ which they consider as resolved upon, shall be
 “ concluded; or amuse us with hopes, the better
 “ to cover and determine what they are treating
 “ with the Cardinal of *Austria*. But, for my part,
 “ I believe neither the one, nor the other; but im-
 “ pute their delay, not to the winds, but to the ad-
 “ vice and counsel of the *Sieur de Sainte Aldegonde*,
 “ who has proposed to them chimeras, of which,
 “ you remember, he made an overture to us, and
 “ which were spread and relished by some here.”

Sir *Robert Cecil*, and Mr. *Herbert*, arrived accord-
 ingly at *Angers* the 17th of *March*, from whence
 they wrote, on the 23d, the following letter to the
 Lords of the Council (*):

May it please your Lordships,

“ Being arrived at *Angers* on *Friday* night last,
 “ the 17th, we think it fit to give your Lordships
 “ present knowledge, having heretofore been driven
 “ to write such rhapsodies, as we took up, *par la*
 “ *rue*, wherein we think your Lordships better liked
 “ our diligence, than if we should have wholly
 “ used silence, until we had arrived here, where the
 “ subject of our charge was to be handled. From
 “ the time we landed at *Dieppe*, until our recovery

(*) MS. State-Papers of *Anthony Bacon*, Esq;

106 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ of this place, there passed thirty days over o
 “ heads, wherein your Lordships may be pleased
 “ take knowledge, that we only spent in travel t
 “ days of the same, it being more than three hu
 “ dred *Englisch* miles from *Dieppe* hither. The r
 “ was all consumed in attending the issue of Sir *Th*
 “ *mas Wylkes*’s unfortunate accident, and in expecti
 “ answer from the King, whom we were not a lit
 “ vexed to follow into *Bretagne*, if we could as w
 “ have avoided the notorious inconvenience
 “ her Majesty’s service, as we were willing to sa
 “ ourselves an ill journey ; the youngest of us bo
 “ being not humorous now of novelties, and n
 “ ther of us to be spared, where her Majesty’s h
 “ nour and service is in question. To have hop
 “ for the King’s return, had been strange and ho
 “ less to us, that knew, that his presence in *Bretag*
 “ only made his fortune. To have treated with
 “ subjects, had been of all the most absurd :
 “ have returned without doing any thing (if it h
 “ been convenient) was more than we durst do wi
 “ out commission. And therefore, after we ca
 “ on to *Paris*, upon our joint resolution, when
 “ *Thomas Wylkes* was living, we thought fit also,
 “ long to stay by the way and at *Paris*, as we did ma
 “ it from our landing, nineteen days, before we cot
 “ stir one foot from that place, hoping still to ha
 “ heard from *England*. But when we saw, that
 “ wind brought us any direction, and knew t
 “ *French* King would not hazard *Bretagne* to sa
 “ any ill journey, he being to stake *le coup de pu*
 “ *tie*, in the province, where her Majesty might
 “ glad to be rid of ill neighbourhood, we did
 “ solve to neglect all our own incommodity, a
 “ so came on thus far, where we arrived the 1;
 “ of this month, whither as many reasons led us,
 “ there was reason to send us over.

“
 “ T^s

“ *Tuesday* we had access to the King, whom we
 “ did find accompanied with the Dukes *de Mer-*
 “ *coeur, d’Espernon, d’Elboeuf, and de Montbason*;
 “ the Marshal *de Retz, La Verdyn, and Boisdol-*
 “ *phin*; the Chancellor, the Admiral, the Secreta-
 “ ries, and divers others of great quality. We were
 “ brought to him by the Duke of *Bouillon*, Monsr.
 “ *de Maiſſe*, and others. I, the Secretary, did deli-
 “ ver him her Majesty’s letters, and kind salutations,
 “ with all due compliments; assured him of her
 “ great contentment to hear of his good fortunes;
 “ and told him, how her Majesty had charged me
 “ particularly to inform myself of his good health,
 “ to the end to advertiſe her by my next commo-
 “ dity, whereof I was right glad to be able to ſend
 “ ſo good news. I told him further, that foras-
 “ much as Princes (whose institution and dignity
 “ hindered them from personal conference of their
 “ affairs) were constrained to ſerve themſelves of
 “ ſuch confident miniſters, by whose mouth they
 “ might diſcover their inward meanings; it hath
 “ pleaſed my Sovereign (out of this conſideration,
 “ that thoſe ought ever to be faithful, that are tied
 “ in ſtraiteſt bonds) to make election of me, tho’ other-
 “ wiſe of little merit, whom ſhe had made her
 “ creature, to communicate unto him her ſecret and
 “ princely thoughts, whenſoever it ſhould pleaſe him
 “ to diſcover his own diſpoſition and judgment of
 “ this project of a General Treaty, whereunto ſhe
 “ hath been ſo invited by Monsr. *de Maiſſe*’s pro-
 “ poſitions. This, I did tell him, was the general
 “ ſubject of our Legation, wherein we were com-
 “ manded precisely to addreſs ourſelves to his own
 “ perſon, before any further conference with any of
 “ his ſubjects, to the intent we might govern our-
 “ ſelves in all things with all others, according to
 “ his advice and counſel: for howſoever ſhe hath
 “ yielded, for his ſatisfaction, to engage herſelf ſo
 “ ſa-

108 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ far, as to depute us hither ; and whatsoever affu-
 “ rance Monsr. *de Maijfe* had given her of the in-
 “ clination of the common enemy ; yet she was so
 “ far from belief of any good meaning in the con-
 “ trary party, as she still thought it fit to defer all
 “ resolutions, until she had fetched her true light
 “ from himself, who could best tell how great a
 “ stranger she was to this cause. And forasmuch
 “ as, in a matter of this weight, it was very necessary,
 “ that their advice and judgment should be used,
 “ whom long experience had instructed in affairs of
 “ State, it pleased her Majesty to honour me, at this
 “ time, with the company of two of her faithful
 “ servants (whom I then described) to associate and
 “ assist me in this service, whereof Almighty God
 “ had taken one, to my extreme grief, but left me
 “ this other, whom therewithal I took by the hand,
 “ and did present, according to the substance of my
 “ letters of credit, which he did read very curious-
 “ ly. He did receive us both with very respective
 “ form, and did pronounce aloud, in all their hear-
 “ ings, his thanks to her Majesty for this great fa-
 “ vour, which, though it could not make his affec-
 “ tion greater, being such already, he said, as speech
 “ could not deliver ; yet did the manner of dealing
 “ with him, both in the form and substance, multi-
 “ ply his obligations : He had been long her servant ;
 “ he held himself, and his estate, next under God,
 “ conserved by her : He would acknowledge it in
 “ whatsoever quality fortune should bestow him.
 “ For the care of his health he humbly thanked her,
 “ and thought himself unhappy in nothing more,
 “ than that he had not seen those same perfections,
 “ which meaner men (whose fortune he did envy)
 “ had, to their contentment, beheld with admiration ;
 “ desiring me to tell him truly, in what disposition
 “ of body I now did leave her : Whom I did answer,
 “ that, God be thanked, she was, when I came out
 “ of

“ of *England*, according to her custom, *comme ceste*
 “ *Princesse, qui n’a jamais senti que c’est de maladie.*

“ Thus much being passed, and our resolution being,
 “ for the first day, to pass no more than a complimentary audience, where all those Princes should
 “ approach so near him, who we wished should be the witnesses of nothing else, but his sensible and
 “ public acknowledgment of his obligation and respect towards her Majesty; I, the Secretary, made
 “ request unto him (because the time and place was now improper for any further particularities),
 “ that he would yield me some other access, where, with more freedom, he might understand what
 “ we had in commission; beseeching him, at this time, only to permit me so much favour, as to
 “ present the Count of *Southampton*, who was come with deliberation to do him service. He said, I
 “ should, with all his heart, the next morning have access; and then embraced, and welcomed him;
 “ and afterwards, when I presented to him all the rest, whom I described to be, most of them,
 “ her Majesty’s servants of very good place, and all Gentlemen well born, he did the like to them;
 “ and so suddenly took me by the hand, contrary to mine expectation, saying, he would walk with
 “ me down into his garden, *en qualité d’ami*, where he entertained me, an hour and an half, with many pleasant and familiar discourses of his opinion
 “ of divers of his subjects, and other particulars not fit for paper, nor of necessity now, though fit to
 “ be related at other time: Wherein when he had pleased himself, he broke forth very abruptly into
 “ these words, *Et bien*, I have been sorry to find, that it hath been so confidently believed among
 “ you, that the King of *Spain* despised to compound with me, as being a poor Prince, my subjects
 “ chief masters; and I therefore contemptible: And that it hath not pleased her Majesty to hold more
 “ com-

110 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ common counsel and correspondence with me in
 “ her designs upon the King of *Spain*, wherein he
 “ doubted not to have done her service; for he
 “ must deal plainly with me, that, notwithstanding
 “ they were nobly begun and ended, yet, unless her
 “ Majesty did make the war of another fashion, and
 “ follow it with a more constant resolution, the
 “ greater purse in time must overspend the less. For
 “ himself, though he were naturally affected to arms,
 “ and had made it his profession; yet he was, by
 “ God’s ordinance, a King of people, and made it
 “ a conscience needlessly to waste them: neither was
 “ he of so mean a judgment, as not to discern how
 “ great a scandal it were for him to bear the imputa-
 “ tion of such an ambition or irreligion, as, when
 “ that was offered him by peace, which could
 “ not be bought with blood, that he should disdain
 “ to hear of it, for his own good, and his allies; as-
 “ suring me, that, howsoever the power of other
 “ Princes was absolute over their subjects, yet durst
 “ not he adventure their suspicion, of being careless
 “ what became of his Kingdom, either in respect
 “ he wanted children, or took a glory in the fortune
 “ of arms; in the which, he confessed on his soul,
 “ to take more delight, than in all the professions of
 “ the world; howsoever, said he, I am censured
 “ amongst you, to be sold over to idleness and de-
 “ light, wherein, I will confess, God hath made a
 “ man; and, as I know my frailty is a scar in my
 “ forehead, so the circumstances of my misfortune
 “ considered, if I be not guilty of other villainies,
 “ I doubt not but I may be numbered (if not amongst
 “ the better sort) yet not among the vilest rank of
 “ Princes.

“ I told him, that, for the first report, it might
 “ easily be answered with the truth itself, which
 “ needed no other help: for I could assure him, it
 “ was so far contrary to my hearing and knowledge,

“ as I durst avow, that the relator to him was the
 “ first and only author. And for any conceit, that
 “ he should be despicable for his poverty, I must use
 “ the liberty of plainness, that it was a paradox to
 “ others, that a King of *France* could be in such ne-
 “ cessities, having now no one subject unreduced ;
 “ assuring him, with humble suit of pardon, that
 “ the common discoursers of the time did fear, that
 “ some, who governed his affairs, did represent his
 “ lacks the greater, to the intent to draw him to
 “ some other courses more agreeable to their liking.
 “ At which he smiled, and told me, he knew whom
 “ I meant. I told him, so did not I ; but this, I
 “ further proceeded with him, that all, that look
 “ with single eyes upon the King of *Spain*’s handling
 “ this matter, in seeking him alone, do fully think,
 “ that as he would be glad, by single contract with
 “ him, to have less to do a-while ; so should it be
 “ with no other final purpose, than to work his ruin
 “ by the means of such a separation. And, for her Ma-
 “ jesty, if she did not hold him very dear, when he
 “ was weakest, she should not have sought so much
 “ to restore him ; neither needed she have been now
 “ unreconciled to *Spain*, if either her friendship or
 “ judgment had been so weak, as to have forsaken
 “ others quarrel.

“ For the second point, of her Majesty’s not com-
 “ municating with him her designs in particular ;
 “ First, I must be so bold to remember him (hav-
 “ ing had the honour to understand somewhat of
 “ them), that her Majesty did ever acquaint him in
 “ general with her purpose of making war on the
 “ common enemy ; although, under his pardon, I
 “ must be bold to say, that he was never pleased to
 “ allow of any thing to be done upon the King of
 “ *Spain*, but in *France* only ; where, although I
 “ could not deny but her Majesty, by joining great
 “ numbers with him, might have furthered some of
 “ his

112 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ his particular desires ; yet, had she thereby
 “ herself wholly exposed to the fleet of *Spain*, fi
 “ which no action of his in *France* could have
 “ cured her.

“ And, as it pleased God, in the first action,
 “ prosper her at *Cadiz*, where her forces did br
 “ away of his greatest ships, and utterly confun
 “ all the rest, besides his infinite magazine of S
 “ preparations ; so could it not be denied, but,
 “ that very action of diversion, he was mightily
 “ sisted in his, own enterprizes, while the Car
 “ nal was kept here in weakness, by reason he
 “ forced to keep all at home to defend himself ;
 “ siring him to remember this last year’s action al
 “ so fresh in memory, whereby he had so good si
 “ cess in *Amiens*, and whereof also the States of t
 “ *Low Countries* made their advantage, by encou
 “ tering an enemy, who was the more infested wi
 “ all manner of lacks and miseries, by her Majesty
 “ diversion and occupation of his treasure and fi
 “ ces : so as her Majesty had given sufficient proof
 “ her continual care and labour to assist him, thou
 “ she had lent him never a man to serve him
 “ which she did still, notwithstanding her great char
 “ in the time, when her affairs at home, in both h
 “ Kingdoms, were in terms of greater difficult
 “ than they had been at any time since 88.

“ At this he did a little change his manner, and sai
 “ abruptly : Monfr. *Cecyll*, *Je le confesse tout : Voi*
 “ *avez raison : Je m’en acquitterai vers ma sœur i*
 “ *façon d’homme de bien.* And so, having hear
 “ before, that we desired to see Madame, he said
 “ You shall now go to my Sister ; and so departed.
 “ We went thither ; and I, the Secretary, deli
 “ vered her Majesty’s letter, with all compliment
 “ and assurance of her good-will ; letting her un
 “ derstand, that I had charge to crave access to her
 “ to inform her more particularly of any thing a
 “ he

“ her best leisure, and to assure her of her Majesty’s
 “ readiness to employ herself in any thing, wherein
 “ she might stead her; with divers other *French*
 “ ceremonial phrases, which are now so usual, as
 “ they will make me forget my *Pater noster*. All
 “ was accepted from her Majesty with great affec-
 “ tion, and we were courteously received.

“ She was well painted, ill dressed, and strange-
 “ ly jewelled; but well accompanied with a num-
 “ ber of great Ladies, the Duchess of *Mercoeur*,
 “ Madam *Longueville*, Madam *de Roban*, Madam
 “ *Montbason*, Madam *Montauban*, Madam *Bellisle*,
 “ and divers others.

“ The next Morning, being *Wednesday*, he did
 “ send to me, to excuse himself till after dinner, being
 “ somewhat indisposed; and then sent Monfr. *le*
 “ *Premier*, about four of the clock, for us, who
 “ waited in the place of Monfr. *le Grand*. We
 “ found him in his Cabinet, with all the Dukes with
 “ him. The King did much intreat me to go in,
 “ to see his mistress, and his son. She is great with
 “ child, and truly a fair and delicate woman. I
 “ staid little to speak with her; and yet she is very
 “ well spoken, and very courteous; and spake of
 “ her Majesty with very great respect, and wished
 “ she would once command her. Then the King
 “ took me into the garden, and told me, he would
 “ crave pardon for speech of any matter of State
 “ that night, but only matter of sport; because it
 “ was late; but the next day I should have a Cabi-
 “ net audience, and now only talk, and be merry.

“ He then did tell me all the particulars of *Mer-*
 “ *coeur*’s proceedings: How the *Spaniards* and *Mer-*
 “ *coeur* brake about *Nantes*, which they would have
 “ had; which he refused; and all fell a-pieces.

“ He told me also, that he had put off *Mer-*
 “ *coeur*’s entry hither till our coming, whose pre-
 “ sence, he was sure, did vex him. I answered

I

“ him,

114 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ him, that he need not be offended with us ;
 “ we were glad he did so well. True it is, d
 “ all the people, when he came in, cried out up
 “ him, *Voici la queue de la Ligue : Voici le petit l*
 “ *de Bretagne.*

“ Afterwards he passed the time with familiari
 “ both in discourse of the Queen, and her Cou
 “ shewing to divers the picture of her Majesty t
 “ I wore.

“ After two hours stay we returned ; and the n
 “ day he sent for us into his Cabinet, where he
 “ a-bed ; and then, at very great length, gave
 “ dience.

“ Having heard before I came hither, and sin
 “ that the King called those, which spoke set tal
 “ *les barangueurs folles* ; and finding, in my
 “ course with him, what form was fit to be u
 “ towards him ; and being, above all other thin
 “ desirous to make advantage of driving him
 “ open himself by first speaking, I did shortly
 “ provisionally resolve to begin my audience o
 “ with a short preface, and to confine myself
 “ those heads following :

“ First, that it was not my purpose to trou
 “ him now with long discourse, or formalities ;
 “ as I might well think in that, to do wrong to
 “ judgment of a Prince, which could judge so w
 “ and was charged with so many affairs ; so wa
 “ little needful, seeing I came from a Prince, t
 “ hath given proof of her amity by effects, and
 “ by words and protestations.

“ Secondly, that the Queen, our Sovereign, l
 “ not sent us to dissuade him from making a pe
 “ without his allies ; because she should thereby
 “ herself wrong, as well as him, inso much as o
 “ to doubt him : for, besides that she knew his c
 “ wisdom would foresee the ill of it, that she was
 “ ficiently reposed on assurance, that he wa
 “ Pri

Prince of honour, faith, and gratefulness: Neither was it other than injustice, for one Prince to suspect that in another, which they would be loth should be doubted in themselves.

“ Thirdly, that she sent us hither with persuation, that not any offers, which came from so fraudulent enemies, carried any truth, but only to satisfy the strait amity between them; and to make him see, how much she would repose herself upon that, which should pass the file of his judgment; having not a little ventured her honour to send us thus far, whereby the world might conceive she solicited him to mediate a peace for her; being also not assured, whether there were such sufficient power or no, as she should like, to treat with the King of *Spain*, if he would incline to it.

“ Fourthly, that she had not a mind alienated from general peace for any particular interest; having justly satisfied herself with revenge sufficient on her enemies, and not extending herself to any further desires, than to conserve her own right and honour, and to preserve her friends.

“ Fifthly, That she desired now particularly by him to be cleared, what the offers were; and what, in his own judgment, he did believe of them; and how he did deliberate to embrace the peace:

And,
“ Finally, above all other things, to know, how he could think the States might be proceeded withal, in case they refuse to be comprised in the treaty; seeing they deserved especially to be cared for, both for the honour and obligation of faith given them; as also for the interest, which both their Realms have in their conservation.

“ He heard all this with great attention; and answered me, first, that he was glad I was not a *Venetian*; and that he loved to negotiate with the Earl of *Essex*; for he did leave circumstances, so

116 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ as he saw we served a wise Prince. Rhetoric was
 “ for pedants. He would now freely and truly answer
 “ me, and not as he answered ordinary Embassadors,
 “ seeing the Queen had sent her table First, he did thank the Queen, that she would
 “ not mistrust him; for what any creature possible
 “ could do, he would do by her counsel; and he were to lose
 “ nothing but life, he would quit for her. As for her fear
 “ of being scandalized, sending (so far especially) to him,
 “ he desired not to think, that her Majesty in that did run
 “ no danger; for she sent not to her enemy, but to her
 “ friend; to a King, and her Brother; to one, that made it
 “ known to all the world, that he honoured her, and that he
 “ desired it. If he had drawn after him for pleasure,
 “ it had been another matter, but he protested, that he
 “ did tarry for us six weeks, to the peril of all *Bretagne*, so as the
 “ world saw his necessity; for that neither had he, would
 “ he be negligent to shew in us the respect he bore his
 “ Sister before all the Princes living.

“ For the power from *Spain*, he doubted not, but, by
Sunday, it would be certified; for the courier was
 “ returned to *Flanders*.

“ For her Majesty's suspicion of the enemy's offers,
 “ he had long so thought himself; for he knew nothing
 “ but necessity drove him to seek him; and that malice
 “ would never cease. But now he told me upon his honour,
 “ and as he desired absolution of his sins, he would
 “ purely tell me all.

“ The enemy offered him all but *Calais*; and that only
 “ now of late he stuck to deliver until some trial;
 “ but presently to contract for it; which he said, was
 “ not a matter, one way or other, that ought to make
 “ or mar the matter. And for the *Spaniard's* meaning
 “ towards the Queen, he made this judgment (neither did
 “ the contrary side conceal it), that his losses were infinite;
 “ for, saith he

her interruptions by sea do mightily charge him, and consume him ; a matter, for which the Queen is to be commended ; for, I confess, the Queen hath hurt him, and not I, but he me : And therefore if he can, with good conditions, come to end, he were mad not to be contented : and if I make him shew a power to treat with the Queen (she having given none to treat with him), do I not an honest work ? Believe, saith he, I pray you, that though his affairs, by private faction and disorder, do not prosper ; yet, if there be no remedy, his counsel and his purse will eat out the Queen of *England*, and us all.

“ And therefore now is the time to consider. I have dealt faithfully with my Sister ; and the more, because I see she doth in the sending respect me : For if I would believe, what hath been beaten into my ears, I am told, that your drift is only to amuse me ; to leave me in the war ever ; and to account that your safety. But I am not of that faith ; and you do see, that though I may have good offers, yet I have forborn, till I might bring in others.

“ I answered him, that, for these calumniation, they were ever used by malicious spirits ; but never credited by Princes against those, whose actions were so contrary.

“ For the offers he had, her Majesty believed it, as I told him before : but for any forwardness for others ; first, I saw it failed in the original beginning for his friends ; because neither the power was seen, nor the conditions yet founded.

“ He answered, that was true ; but I should hear now forthwith : And, for conditions between *England* and *Spain*, they were easily agreed. The difficulty was for the States ; for whom, saith he, must we be still miserable in perpetuity.

118 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ I told him, that was the knotty question ; and
 “ till that were decided, there could be no sure re-
 “ solution ; in which I left them, that were wise men
 “ to speak from themselves.

“ He asked me this ; But what think you ? I made
 “ difficulty till he pressed me, and then I answered
 “ That I heard many wise men hold it for infallible
 “ that it were a strange apprehension to all his neigh-
 “ bours, to behold a King of *Spain*, by conquest or
 “ contract, owner absolutely of seventeen Provinces
 “ He rose up to me, and said, I was an honest
 “ man : he loved me for my opinion ; but, said
 “ he, use no such speech to my Council, that I said
 “ so.

“ I then asked him, what his judgment was, how
 “ things should be carried. He then told me, that
 “ the States would be with him on *Saturday* : That
 “ he and I should meet as only to pass the time
 “ and then he would tell me what they said, and
 “ what *Barneveldt* would do, who is mine, said he
 “ intirely. For there are, said he, but two ways
 “ Either I shall be driven to all necessity and fury
 “ my people, who are ready to rebel for peace ; or my
 “ friends must help me, which, I see, you mean to
 “ by maintaining the war, and in helping me here
 “ I pray you therefore, said he, seeing you will
 “ have war, speak with my Council, hear their re-
 “ sons : I will assign you *Villeroy* and *Maiiffe* : Show
 “ them what the Queen will do for a war.

“ I answered him, that I feared I had already pre-
 “ sented my commission to speak so openly ; but his
 “ favourable usage and commandment made it
 “ bold and forgetful. To meet with his Council
 “ and my Fellow were ready at his pleasure ; but to
 “ deliver the Queen’s mind for a war, was not the
 “ ground of our commission, we being sent to see the
 “ bottom of the likelihood or safety of a treaty. And
 “ yet I desired him to consider, that the Queen was

“ I

“ in a war, and so reckoned her charges and expences
 “ at large; which, I think, he had never patience be-
 “ fore to hear himself; neither should I have held
 “ him now, but that he was a-bed.

“ He denied many of those particulars, in which
 “ I answered him; and then he said, I was the son
 “ to a Treasurer. I told him also, that my Sove-
 “ reign’s case was worst of all three; for his fortune,
 “ by her help, increased: The States grew rich;
 “ and she had new fires kindled still, and yet new
 “ importunities, so as her trouble was *in infinitum*.

“ Well, saith he, it is a strange message, when a
 “ man is in need, and lacks help, to hear of others
 “ lacks, and former helps. If the Queen will pro-
 “ pound her mind, what war she would have to be
 “ made, saith he, I will urge nothing but upon good
 “ consent. And because you told me yesterday,
 “ that I never liked any thing but my own ways, I
 “ say this; if my plots be not allowed good, let the
 “ Queen of *England*, if she be alienated from a
 “ peace, set down the way of a safe war, in which
 “ the *Spaniard* may be beaten indeed; and then
 “ will I be found reasonable. But to lose myself,
 “ and my Kingdom, to be mutinied against by my
 “ people, it is hard for me to be put to it.

“ I told him, that our commission was to deal in
 “ that, which was propounded by *Monsr. de Maisse*,
 “ which the Queen was borne in hand should not
 “ now have been unready. For the war-making in
 “ another fashion, we had no power to deal in it
 “ here.

“ Well, saith he, I see you come to win time.
 “ For my part, I would time could be won without
 “ loss of my Kingdom. But if I stand on the de-
 “ fensive now, I lose my reputation: If I let go my
 “ hold, and my offers, my people will rebel against
 “ me; for though I have honour to bind me, yet
 “ they feel misery. Colours I have none to break

“ it ; for I can have any thing : and, if I have my
 “ own, what honour will it be to me, if it break
 “ hereafter ?

“ I told him, that point of a single peace was it
 “ which must not be disputed of ; for then all
 “ leagues were ridiculous : and, with pardon I must
 “ speak it, that, if things should be so carried, as
 “ when one friend had helped another to equal his
 “ enemy, he should then compound with his third
 “ enemy for his particular advantage, without his
 “ confederate ; it must make Princes take heed of
 “ assuming others quarrels ; and make us, that were
 “ their poor servants, wish, that if any such strange
 “ accident should follow, of which we never dream-
 “ ed, that the Queen had but her money in her
 “ hand, which she hath spent on *France*, and the
 “ *Low Countries* ; we doubted not but, with the
 “ assistance of God in her just quarrel, *Spain* would
 “ get as little at her Majesty’s hands, as hitherto it
 “ hath done.

“ He told me, that he liked me well for my plain-
 “ ness ; and that her Majesty might trust me to dis-
 “ pute for her : But seeing then, saith he, you will
 “ not have me make peace alone, nor you may not
 “ make peace without the States ; what is the third
 “ way you would wish ? I pray, saith he, propound it.

“ I told him again, we came not to propound
 “ but to hear and argue of that, which was propounded
 “ and promised by Monsr. *de Maijse*, to consider of
 “ that with his Council, and the States Deputies.

“ No, saith he, then you will, I perceive, push
 “ me to the wall still to speak. How would you
 “ like it, to have us two, that are Monarchs, to
 “ make a peace with *Spain*, and let the States make
 “ a truce ?

“ I told him, it were good to hear the States ; but
 “ if his Majesty would have me tell him my poor
 “ opinion, I had ever found them as jealous of

“ truce

“ truce as of a peace: And so I told him the
“ reasons.

“ Well then, saith he, what if we could make a
“ temporal peace, and let them be in a war?

“ I told him, so they might not perish by it, it
“ was least harmful.

“ Well, saith he, what! will nothing content the
“ Queen? I desired him to pardon me: When it
“ came to conference of all sides, it should be de-
“ bated. He would needs have me speak: I told
“ him, I saw no cause, why he, that had little to de-
“ fend but one frontier, and might be assisted by
“ the States for the present, should not wear the
“ King of *Spain* out of *Picardy* by little and little,
“ who was old; and time would discover what the
“ Cardinal's marriage would prove to in the *Low*
“ *Countries*: And if the Queen might but once have
“ quietness in *Ireland*, and recovered in some of her
“ own means, if he were once over-pressed, she
“ would be the same, that ever she was, to him.
“ Otherwise, if a general peace, with honour and
“ safety, might be wrought, her Majesty was (as I
“ said before) not alienated.

“ Well, saith he, I see the device is, that I must
“ still be tossed; my country must be miserable,
“ and no end must be had. But, Sir, saith he, you
“ shall see I deal with you, not like an *Italian*, upon
“ puncto's, nor with devices. The Queen shall see
“ I trust you, and negotiate freely with you for her
“ sake. I will speak with you again within two days.
“ I shall then know more, and I will strive to bethink
“ me with you, what course may be taken, which
“ the Queen shall not mislike, unless I must smart
“ for all. But I pray you, saith he, use this speech
“ to my Council, that you come not to dissuade me
“ from peace, but to see upon what terms, of ho-
“ nour and safety, the Queen shall venture; and to
“ see how the States may be included; and that the
“ Queen

“ Queen will not abandon them ; but if they may
 “ be safely brought in, that you do know the Queen
 “ will not be unreasonable : And the rather, because
 “ you find me so truly to discover my impossibilities
 “ to maintain a war, and my passionate resolution
 “ to comfort my people with a peace ; and so hear
 “ what will be said to you, and keep you on these
 “ grounds still, in which I direct you with mine ;
 “ for the Queen your Mistress will like it well, that
 “ you should be ruled by me ; and so hath she
 “ written unto me. Whereat I hardly could forbear
 “ smiling, when he would tell me what my Sovereign
 “ had written. Much more passed ; but it is im-
 “ possible to write all. We are sorry to be thus
 “ tedious.

“ The affairs of *the Religion* are settled, wherein
 “ he hath much complained to me of them. They
 “ have sent me thanks for her Majesty, confessing,
 “ that they were dispatched more speedily at our ar-
 “ rival in ten days, than in forty before. The King
 “ himself merrily told me, that when he heard so
 “ great an *Hugonot* was landed, he was sure I would
 “ be a spokesman. I told him, his Majesty knew
 “ *Hugonots* were honest men ; and I did hope they
 “ should need no spokesman to him, seeing faith and
 “ mercy did plead for them. Ay, said he, I would
 “ they had more discretion and patience.

“ The Duke of *Bouillon* is here, not well content-
 “ ed in some private suits he hath. *Espernon* is very
 “ found with the King, and counted one of the most
 “ able men of *France*. He useth to us great respect,
 “ and protesteth to owe her Majesty obligation for
 “ her wishing the King to deal well with him in his
 “ late persecution in *Provence*. *St. Aldegonde* hath
 “ broken the matter to the King for Count *Maurice*
 “ to marry Madame.

“ The States, we can assure your Lordships, come
 “ to offer the King continuation of the former four
 “ thousand

“ thousand men paid, and to increase that charge
 “ further. Whether your Lordships or they have
 “ informed her Majesty of this, we know not ; but
 “ of this I, the Secretary, have particular know-
 “ ledge. They will be here to-morrow, with whom
 “ we will hold all good correspondence ; yet *Barne-*
 “ *velt* is wholly *French*.

Those of *the Religion* much honour the Queen ;
 “ but all their counsel is this, the Queen must round-
 “ ly help the King.

“ Thus have we now delivered your Lordships an
 “ account, by way of narration, of the substance
 “ of our *avisos*. We think it therefore best becom-
 “ ing the mean conceit we have of our own slender
 “ judgment, to refer the censure to her Majesty’s
 “ wisdom, hoping, at our return, to deliver some
 “ such account, as may justify our duty and diligence.
 “ And if, under her Majesty’s gracious pardon, we
 “ shall be commanded to speak what our weak un-
 “ derstandings shall have gathered, we shall do it
 “ more confidently, when we are where we may
 “ strengthen our argument by verbal replications
 “ better than by letters ; for we are not unacquaint-
 “ ed, how easily letters may be intercepted under other
 “ colours, and what toys for the most part cyphers
 “ are.

“ Seeing the States are at hand, we shall have uni-
 “ formity in our negotiation. We doubt not there-
 “ fore, within ten days after, to have finished our
 “ conference, and to be at the sea-side within six
 “ days after. If your Lordships will say, that we
 “ were instructed to advertise before we conclude,
 “ we will be bold to let your Lordships know, that
 “ we neither have nor mean to take any liberty of
 “ conclusion. For, as your Lordships know, we
 “ came but to inquire, to confer, and advertise,
 “ whether we, that are here, by common conse-
 “ rence, find, that a treaty may be thought expe-
 “ dient

124 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ dient for all parties. We think therefore, that
 “ we shall do our duty sufficiently, to advertise per-
 “ sonally all such resolutions : for, seeing we are now
 “ at *Angers*, instead of *Roan*, and that we never
 “ heard one word from *England* of fresher date than
 “ the 24th of *February*, we hope your Lordships
 “ will conceive, that we have small hope of perfect-
 “ ing any thing by answers to any dispatches. This
 “ is therefore that, which we intend, and which we
 “ think is agreeable to our commission, to inform
 “ ourselves of the power, which the King of *Spain*
 “ doth send for a general treaty ; to hear the States
 “ reasons ; and see what they will do : to find also by
 “ conference with all these parties, whether the King
 “ will leave them, or no. To the States we mean
 “ to use no language, but of all correspondency ; and
 “ yet to let them know, howsoever their reasons or
 “ their wills shall divert peace-making, that, if for
 “ their cause the war be continued, they must think
 “ to bear the greater burden, and not increase or
 “ continue her Majesty’s insupportable charge for
 “ them.

“ Lastly, for the better justification of our return,
 “ we do thus conclude, that if the treaty with the
 “ enemy shall go forward, it must be at some place
 “ near *England* ; the continuation whereof in speech
 “ shall be carried on still between the *French King*
 “ and them, whilst we, in the mean time, have in-
 “ formed her Majesty’s judgment, and she there-
 “ upon resolve ; which is the farthest of our com-
 “ mission. If we find, that the Queen shall be forced
 “ to charges of a war, then must the war be advised
 “ and resolved on by her Majesty ; of which two
 “ main points, God forbid we should either presume
 “ to advise, or your Lordships, if you would attri-
 “ bute any thing to the small knowledge, which we
 “ have gathered in this negotiation, fall to any reso-
 “ lution upon our letters, which are but maimed and
 “ barren

England, France, and Brussels. 125

“ barren informations, in such intricate questions, in
“ comparison of personal relations. Our suit is
“ therefore to your Lordships, that seeing time can-
“ not prejudice the Queen, to like of this course, that
“ her Majesty will be pleased to lend us shipping for
“ *Caen*, whereby we shall save two hundred miles
“ riding, the coast being as fit as *Dieppe* in all re-
“ spects; and that they may be there by the 12th of
“ this next *April*.

Your Lordships humbly at commandment,

Ro. Cecyll,
J. Herbert.

“ Your Lordship, my Lord Admiral, doth know,
“ that *Efterebam* is a very good road hard by
“ *Caen*, where, if we might have the *Answer*,
“ or the *Adventure* with Capt. *Reynoldes*, we
“ would be glad.

“ *Angers*, this *Thursday* the 23d of *March* 1597.”

On the 27th of the same month they wrote another letter to the Lords of the Council in the following terms (y) :

May it please your Lordships,

“ Having had this day and yesterday our conference in the castle of *Angers* with the King’s Council, and to-day morning with the States Deputies,
“ we think it fit to send your Lordships this account
“ by this bearer, whom I have cause to send into
“ *England*. We have also received her Majesty’s
“ letter by Mr. *Mole*, and your Lordships, that night
“ at seven of the clock; with answer whereunto he

(y) Ibid.

“ shall return, having sent this day to have audience
 “ to-morrow, but cannot have it, because the King
 “ is in phyfic. We were promised it the next day;
 “ and then we will both together deliver the substance
 “ of her Majesty’s royal instructions to himself in
 “ private. He received the States-Commissioners in
 “ the Castle yesterday, where he kept his court, his
 “ own town-lodging being streight. They, that
 “ treated with us, were the Chancellor, the Duke
 “ *Espernon*, Duke *Bouillon*, Monsr. *Sancy*, *Villeroy*,
 “ *Maisse*, *Plessis*, and *Schomberg*. When we did
 “ assemble, I, the Secretary, was placed at the board-
 “ end, and the Duke *Espernon* on my right-hand,
 “ and the Chancellor on my left; I, *John Herbert*,
 “ next *Espernon* on that side, and the Duke of *Bouillon*
 “ over-against me; and so the others in their places.
 “ I, the Secretary, did deliver unto them the like lan-
 “ guage, which I held to the King; first, to shew the
 “ substance of our legation was only to satisfy the
 “ King, that he might thereby see her Majesty would
 “ neither discredit any thing, which he should believe,
 “ nor sever herself from him at any time, either in
 “ counsel or action of importance, according to the
 “ obligation of faith and honour between them; for
 “ otherwise we both had charge to protest, in her
 “ Majesty’s name, that she doth nothing with any
 “ belief in any thing, which should proceed from so
 “ corrupt an enemy, in whom she had discovered so
 “ notorious practice and collusion. And so it was
 “ declared unto them, how the treaty in the Duke of
 “ *Parma*’s time was carried; and how *Richardot* then
 “ did use himself; in which respect her Majesty, when
 “ Monsr. *de Maisse* had shewed the inclination of the
 “ common enemy, in respect of his great necessities,
 “ and when he seemed so much to assure her Majesty
 “ of a power already given to comprehend her and
 “ the States in the treaty; her Majesty, notwithstanding,
 “ when she heard from what broken trumpet
 “ that

“ that was founded, did so little expect to find any
 “ thing of substance follow on in conclusion, as he
 “ could not forget, with what earnestness she did
 “ contest it with him, that even in that original cir-
 “ cumstance, wherein *Richardot* was used, it would be
 “ found, if it were tried, that they were not so pro-
 “ vided, but they would be found abusers. Never-
 “ theless, things being here otherwise conceived, and
 “ her Majesty being loth to be scandalized to have in-
 “ terrupted such a good intention for the public good
 “ of *Christendom*, she had thought it fit, by this public
 “ sending, to make trial of the probabilities, to come
 “ to that, whereof she had conceived so general ex-
 “ pectation ; desiring to be cleared by them in par-
 “ ticular, how all things stood in that first point, and
 “ in all other ; and what was returned by the cou-
 “ rier, which I perceived, by the King’s own speech,
 “ was returned to *Brussels*. The Chancellor made a
 “ studied speech of formalities, amplifying in gene-
 “ ral the King’s sincerity, and his necessity, and how
 “ acceptable a thing it was to save Christian blood :
 “ and therefore wished, that we would deliver the par-
 “ ticulars of that we had to say, or to require, in this
 “ great question. We answered again, that as the
 “ question did now consist, whether it might be
 “ likely a treaty of peace to work conclusion of good
 “ conditions to all parties interested, such as in ho-
 “ nour and safety might be accepted of by all ; so, till
 “ this first point were cleared, it was hard to descend
 “ into other particulars, because her Majesty’s honour
 “ was too much engaged already by this, which she had
 “ done. Hereupon *Espernon*, who is a discerning
 “ spirit, looking upon *Monfr. de Bouillon*, and he
 “ looking down to *Villeroy* (as though the Chancel-
 “ lor had said what he was capable of), *Villeroy* took
 “ the tale, and did declare from the beginning how
 “ the matter had been carried : that the enemy had
 “ long researched the King ; that the King was of-
 “ fered

128 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ fered all the places, which the enemy held (accord-
 “ ing to that which *Maiſſe* had told the Queen), and
 “ that the King ſtill perſiſted, that it was in vain to
 “ think of any competition, except his Allies were
 “ included ; whereby the matter was trained on in
 “ length until the loſs of *Amiens*, and then it was re-
 “ newed ; and ſo, ſince that time, *Richardot* had
 “ aſſured it, that there was power very authentical
 “ to treat in general, if it were ſo intended on all
 “ ſides : whereupon he ſaid *Monſr. de Maiſſe* was diſ-
 “ patched, and detained there ſix weeks about it, and
 “ another ſent to the States to advertiſe them accord-
 “ ingly. And ſince, upon her Maſteſty's queſtion of
 “ that power, which the Deputies had, the King
 “ had given charge to examine the power ; and to
 “ the intent, that they of the *Spaniſh* part ſhould
 “ ſhew that, which they had, the King's Deputies
 “ were commanded to ſhew their commiſſion from
 “ the *French* King ; whereupon they ſhewed theirs,
 “ without the which there was no reaſon to deſire to
 “ ſee theirs.

“ In concluſion, it appeared only a commiſſion
 “ for *France* authentical ; but for the Queen and the
 “ States there was only a power from the Cardinal,
 “ which being reſuſed, it was ſaid, that her Maſteſty's
 “ ſending to the Iſlands made them in *Spain* deſperate,
 “ that ſhe intended to treat, which was the change of
 “ it ; but that ſhould not be the let of it ; and there-
 “ fore moved the *French* King's Miniſter for leave to
 “ ſend into *Spain* for a new commiſſion : the an-
 “ ſwer whereof was returned, though not certified
 “ hither ; but every hour attended. It was answer-
 “ ed by us, that for her Maſteſty's arming to ſea, it
 “ might have been well replied, that in that point
 “ ſhe would have done no otherwiſe, though ſhe
 “ had been engaged in a treaty ; for ſhe ſhould have
 “ then diſſered from the King of *Spain* himſelf, and
 “ from the *French* King, and all others. But for
 “ the

“ the state of the affair now in present, we were
 “ sorry, that by miscarriage, or *mal entendu*, the Queen
 “ had been no sooner admonished, that she might
 “ have staid our journey ; and that it happened ill
 “ for her Majesty, that *de Maijse* did not believe the
 “ Queen’s doubts : Whereupon, because that speech
 “ was directed to Monfr. *de Maijse*, and that both
 “ *Espernon*, and all the Religion-side, looked upon
 “ him, as who should say, it belonged to him to
 “ speak, he took upon him then to answer. First,
 “ he confessed, that the Queen did shew her wisdom
 “ in the doubts concerning the peace ; but that she
 “ needed not have embraced peace, except she pleas-
 “ ed ; for his commission tended as much to persuade
 “ her to make war as peace ; and that his Master’s
 “ cause and fortune stood at that time upon more
 “ than a formality of sending to this end only : neither
 “ needed it be made such a matter, as who should
 “ say, there one King had sent to another ; for truth
 “ of Princes actions stood not upon rumours, which
 “ follow passions ; neither was the treaty at that time
 “ otherwise to have been carried : and if her Ma-
 “ jesty would have resolved particularly of a war, she
 “ would not have followed so precisely the overture
 “ of a peace ; but her Majesty was absolute, and
 “ might draw on her causes at her pleasure, and her
 “ resolutions. The King was pressed to take oppor-
 “ tunities, when they were offered ; and the Queen
 “ hath done herself honour not to refuse to send.
 “ She meddled not with the *Spaniard*, but took off
 “ the public scandal ; and therefore it was too much
 “ urged, that the Queen’s honour was damnified in
 “ doing what she did. To this point they most of
 “ them agreed with one voice, that her sending was
 “ most necessary and most honourable.

“ Hereto we answered, that we could not dispute
 “ that circumstance further, whether her Majesty
 “ had good or harm by sending ; neither was it

K

“ urged,

130 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ urged, as if her Majesty would have thought to
 “ much to send to the furthest part of his kingdo
 “ to do him honour : But this I must say, under
 “ favour, that I, the Secretary, never understood
 “ having had the honour to wait upon her Majesty
 “ Council, when he was with them ; but that
 “ whole scope was to shew the great offers of *Spa*
 “ and how fit it was to end war ; and that the Ki
 “ presumed he did a great work in it : and that
 “ was now to be taken, when the King of *Spain's*
 “ cessities were so important ; so as when her Ma
 “ sty found by the discourse (and that notwithstan
 “ ing the *Spanish* King was in great want), yet a pe
 “ was so necessary, her Majesty thought of no od
 “ subject to be handled, than to inform herself, w
 “ appearance there was of coming safely and hono
 “ ably to that pacification. The point of incit
 “ the Queen to a war was of all points the most
 “ necessary ; for the Queen was then in a war m
 “ than ever before-times. She had an army nev
 “ returned from sea. She had her troops in *Fra*
 “ maintained nine months beyond promise :
 “ forces in the *Low Countries* ; eight or ten thous
 “ men in *Ireland* ; and now preparation to sea ;
 “ as for any such matter, if that had been the purp
 “ only of his coming, her Majesty might have
 “ solved without sending us hither. We told th
 “ also, that it seemed strange to us, that the Ki
 “ who, we knew, could not have the thought
 “ conclude singly, would so far shew himself in t
 “ before he had founded the conditions for the Qu
 “ in some particulars ; for this was enough to m
 “ the matter suspected, that there was no sincerity
 “ and that the enemy would raise himself reputa
 “ by it. Then *Villeroy* answered,
 “ That, without a beginning, things could no
 “ founded : some one must speak ; or else not
 “ could be known : And this he would protest,

“ knew also, that the King had protested it to us,
 “ that he was still *la charte blanche* in this matter;
 “ and had ever resolutely told them, that they did
 “ speak to a dead wall, as long as they went about to
 “ sever him from the Queen: and therefore that
 “ there was nothing but just proceeding, and such
 “ as no way ought to displease the Queen, which he
 “ was willing to speak here before good witnesses; and
 “ that the *French* King’s Deputies had been fain to
 “ use art to please them, and keep them together,
 “ the legate being in person on the frontiers now five
 “ months; and the *Spanish* Deputies, who were apt
 “ to think, by the length of the matter, that the
 “ *French* King did but mock them by the Queen of
 “ *England*’s consent; so as in the mean time, if we
 “ would either stay two or three days, or enter now
 “ into particulars what the Queen’s conditions were,
 “ either to demand in the peace, or else what the
 “ Queen would do to help the King by war, they
 “ would hear it; and it would win time against that
 “ answer arrived.

“ We then, that saw to what end this tended, and
 “ what we should get at his council by reason or disputa-
 “ tion, having nothing to offer for the war, but only
 “ the laying before them her Majesty’s former charges
 “ with *France*, and his great debts to her (which we
 “ are sure *Espernon* nor divers there never heard of
 “ before), we did for the rest, and for the present,
 “ think fit to have the aid of the States, who, we
 “ knew, had both arguments to dissuade peace, and
 “ good offers to present the King, which weigheth
 “ down all benefit past in this corrupted time and
 “ council.

“ We replied further, that as we were particularly
 “ charged, first, to make special inquisition of the
 “ peace, in which the Queen had been so often dealt
 “ with; and that we understood the States were ar-
 “ rived (with whom in counsel and action we were

132 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ to hold correspondency) seeing that first matter
 “ would so shortly be cleared, that we did think it
 “ an orderly way to confer with them ; and that they
 “ might also be heard, all parties present ; by which
 “ means things might be expedited, and the answer
 “ of the power attended for, especially considering
 “ the respect, which ought to be carried toward them
 “ and having so freely called them into a league
 “ offensive or defensive, whereof none better could
 “ tell than Monsr. *Bouillon* and *Sancy*, whole in
 “ stance in the King’s behalf made that to be done
 “ which the Queen did ; for what need was there for
 “ her to tie herself with new formalities, when al-
 “ ready her Majesty, next after God, and without
 “ any manner of utility by any contract, had so roy-
 “ ally and fortunately assisted him, and the *Low*
 “ *Countries*? so that if this should now be violated
 “ they, that were least touched, whomsoever, could
 “ not but run the hazard of scorn and infamy.

“ They all allowed of the course propounded ; and
 “ so we parted, and afterwards, it being very late
 “ we were brought to the King in the garden. When
 “ we came to him, and that he had done with the
 “ States Commissioners, the King told me, the Secre-
 “ tary, that he had caused this number to assemble
 “ at first, because this was an affair, that touched his
 “ whole kingdom ; and that he had made a mixture
 “ of all such, as were of several dispositions, to the
 “ intent that every one of them, on whom depend-
 “ ed so many several parties, might know his man-
 “ ner of proceeding, and to give satisfaction in great
 “ to the multitude, each of them having a quantity
 “ of people, who do move no further than as their
 “ heads do sway them. The Chancellor (that *de*
 “ *bonne*) and *Maisse*, he said, were Ministers of his
 “ justice, and associates with his courts of Parliament
 “ *Espernon* no leaguer, but affecting the reputation
 “ now of a devout *Romanist*, and very froward
 “ them

“ them of the Religion. *Sancy* and *Villeroy*, with
 “ *Schomberg*, affecting the peace, as knowing his
 “ extreme necessities. The Duke of *Bouillon* and
 “ *Plessis*, he said, he needed not describe, for we
 “ knew them. This censure he gave me, the Se-
 “ cretary, in his garden, of them, when we re-
 “ turned from our conference with them: and the
 “ first question, which he asked me, when I saw
 “ him, was, whether I had not told his Council, that
 “ the Queen was no way against any peace, of pur-
 “ pose to keep him in war and misery; pretending
 “ to have desire to put that out of his people’s
 “ heads: and thereupon recounted to me very many
 “ bad offices and conceits, which had been wrought
 “ into his head, which I did satisfy, I hope, and
 “ found necessary; the account whereof may be fit
 “ for another time. I told him, I should much
 “ have injured her Majesty, if I should have said
 “ otherwise; and so gave him an account of all that
 “ had passed; of which he seemed to allow; and
 “ when this was done, he retired, and sent us into
 “ a banqueting-house, where music was, and there
 “ we spent the time, I, *John Herbert*, some time
 “ conferring with the States Deputies, and I, the
 “ Secretary, with the Duke of *Bouillon*, with whom
 “ they, by *Edmondes*, do hold private correspond-
 “ ency, he being one, whom he trusteth, be-
 “ sides private speeches, when he is appointed to
 “ walk with me, and accompany me.

“ This day the States Commissioners had confe-
 “ rence with us for the space of two or three hours;
 “ wherein we did acquaint them what course we held
 “ with the King and his Council: how much we had
 “ been in pain for lack of their company; and with
 “ what strait commandment her Majesty had injoin-
 “ ed us to publish to the world in what estimation
 “ she held that State, a matter whereof we needed

134 *View of the Negotiations between*

“not to use large protestations, seeing they did daily feed upon the fruits of her Majesty’s extraordinary protection. Only lest some such, as did desire to sever themselves artificially, might have set on foot some bruit, that her Majesty meant to seek her own quiet without respect of them; I thought it fit to assure them to the contrary; and, for proof of it, to appeal to the Duke of *Bouillon*, who could well tell what course we held in our conference yesterday with the Council; desiring them to bethink themselves how to dissuade the King from treaty with *Spain*, if they could not be reconciled from their doubtfulness or hearkening to a peace.

“*Monfr. Barnevelt* hereupon did very formally yield us thanks in her Majesty’s behalf, protesting assured confidence in the Queen, with acknowledgment of all her former benefits; as also for that, which they had understood since they came to this place, how her Majesty had demonstrated her favour towards them, thanking us very much of the particular correspondency, which we held now in communicating with them what had passed of late; as also in having certified them, before they came into this town, of such things, as were convenient, by those confident persons, that were used between us, whereof one is *Mr. Edmondus*, who is very trusty and sufficient; the other is one *Hersens*, whom they do trust, and do mean to leave as their agent. After this they went plainly to work, that their State might not hearken to peace, or treat of peace; and that their commission was resolutely to protest against it; that they found all the King’s Council, with whom they have had any speech, passionate for it: and that the King did plainly tell them, that though in his nature he did not desire it;

“yet

“ yet by the inquietude of the people, and ne-
 “ cessity of his affairs, he should be forced to accept
 “ it for some time, unless he were better assisted :
 “ And therefore they concluded to us, that all their
 “ trust was in the Queen of *England*, who only had
 “ power to alter it. We told them, that we had laid
 “ before the King the strictness of the tripartite
 “ league, and the danger for him to trust to *Spain*,
 “ who would only serve himself of him against others,
 “ thereby to ruin both. They answered, that those things
 “ were in vain : they had said them often. Leagues
 “ between Princes had civil constructions ; and bene-
 “ fits, that are past, help no future things ; neither
 “ are present necessities (wherein it is in vain to con-
 “ test with them, that must be judges of their own
 “ lack) remedied with remuneration of good turns
 “ past. They therefore came fully resolved to obsti-
 “ nate any treaty, and doubted not but, ere this
 “ time, their fellows had been in *England*, and had
 “ procured us authority to do as they would do ;
 “ namely, to divert the King, by representing to
 “ him the present extremities of the *Spaniards*, which
 “ made them so willing to treat ; and by presentation
 “ of some other manner of project to help him to
 “ beat the *Spanish* army out of the *Low Countries*.
 “ To this we answered them, that we had no such
 “ dispatch, but only to follow our former instructi-
 “ ons, as we had already informed them.

“ Further, we held some discourse with them,
 “ why they should not hearken to a treaty, if those
 “ conditions (with banishing of strangers) might be
 “ made by a treaty, that were to be desired by a war,
 “ which was subject to adverse success. Whereunto they
 “ answered, that it was the way to their perdition,
 “ ever to acknowledge any one person whatsoever
 “ for their Sovereign, either as King of *Spain*, or
 “ Duke of *Burgundy* : that Monarchs might bind and

136 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ loose, as they saw cause; but the composition of
 “ their State being once altered, it would dissolve of
 “ itself; saying, it was not only the condition of re-
 “ moving *Spanish* forces and strangers, but all such
 “ natives of the provinces as were now *Spaniolised*,
 “ which was far greater in number than the *Spaniards*
 “ were. We told them, they best knew their State;
 “ but many wise men were of another opinion: yet
 “ seeing they did so resolve, it was not we, that
 “ could alter it, but rather yield to them the power
 “ to know themselves better than any other could
 “ do: Only this we thought, they should not find it
 “ an easy work to do in haste; though, for our
 “ parts, we wished it were so: And therefore, if they
 “ could divert the King from the course his Council
 “ had trained him in, by argument or offer, we
 “ should be very glad; and did indeed conceive,
 “ that if they would join with the *French* King in
 “ making war (who now had need to make it but
 “ in one place), and not embrace these enterprizes in
 “ places more remote, there might come good of
 “ this interruption. They told us, that it was rea-
 “ sonable her Majesty should send over an army of
 “ twelve or thirteen thousand men, which would
 “ make way into the very heart of all he possessed.
 “ We, finding in them this speech, did plainly
 “ let them know, that her Majesty’s fleet at sea, and
 “ armies, which had been sent out to make a diver-
 “ sion of the enemy’s forces, besides many other
 “ great charges in *Ireland*, and elsewhere, have so
 “ much increased, as her Majesty would be well ad-
 “ vised how to engage herself suddenly for others;
 “ especially seeing, in lieu of that she had purchased
 “ for them, she was never as yet reimbursed of one
 “ halfpenny. They shifted off that with their ordi-
 “ nary excuses, and still insisted, whether we had
 “ heard out of *England* since the arrival of their De-
 “ puties,

“ puties, or no; for they did hope by that time her
 “ Majesty had heard them, she would take some
 “ such resolution: and if our army were once kept
 “ together in *Picardy*, or *Artois*, *England* need not
 “ be in doubt, no not if *France* should leave the
 “ Queen and them; for she might ever be Mistress
 “ of the seas. We told them, that it was true, that
 “ if there were nothing to be suspected but such a
 “ main invasion as was in 88, her Majesty might
 “ well prepare to defend by strength at sea: but
 “ whether that were a charge supportable or no, we
 “ left them to judge. Besides, we saw the enemy
 “ took unseasonable times in winter, when a navy
 “ could not ever be maintained at sea; and that by
 “ the means their shipping was never from *Spain*,
 “ by the which he might transport a convenient army
 “ on a sudden. We told them also, that experience
 “ last year shewed us, that they durst come in the
 “ winter; and that they meant to make war of an-
 “ other fashion: and further, that even from *Calais*,
 “ with gallies, an army might be suddenly, in calms,
 “ transported, if they had nothing to fear of *France*,
 “ which might land an army in spite of all the ships,
 “ that should be kept at sea. And therefore, as we
 “ meant not to persuade them more than we would
 “ ourselves to any perilous resolution; so we must
 “ then require them to bethink themselves how to
 “ ease the Queen’s charge, if she must be kept in a
 “ war for them.

“ Monsr. *Barnovelt* seemed a little awakened with
 “ this, and then fell into protestations of their neces-
 “ sities; and withal misliking the great diminution
 “ of her Majesty’s forces, that ought to be in the
 “ *Low Countries*. We told them, that her Majesty
 “ had done that but for these late enterprizes, and
 “ their good; but that her Majesty must be forced
 “ to summon them to some better reckoning, by
 “ reimbursement of those great sums, which they did
 “ owe

138 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ owe the Queen. Whereupon they insisted on the
 “ contract, and other arguments. We told them
 “ plainly, that that must be no answer; and that
 “ they must no more stand upon their contract with-
 “ out civil interpretation, than by their former
 “ speeches it appeareth, that other Princes meant to
 “ do in the like occasions.

“ Much more there passed, both with them, and
 “ on *Sunday* with the *French*, which we cannot ad-
 “ vertise all at once; but leave this much humbly to
 “ your Lordships judgment, and hope to give her
 “ Majesty an account of the rest of this our hard ne-
 “ gotiation hereafter.

“ For that dispatch, which is come by Mr. *Mole*,
 “ we thank God both for the public and our particu-
 “ lar, that God hath given her Majesty the fortunate
 “ discovery, whereby her Majesty may now, by
 “ dealing plainly with him, make judgment what to
 “ trust to; wherein we will not vary from that pre-
 “ dent and princely direction, which we have re-
 “ ceived, but each be witnesses of other's word to the
 “ King.

“ Thus have we yielded your Lordships an ac-
 “ count truly of all that hath passed; and hope, that
 “ if our instructions be examined, which, we trust,
 “ shall be our trial, and not our success, that we
 “ shall not receive her Majesty's disfavour, the dimi-
 “ nution whereof is more precious to us than our
 “ lives.

“ The King goeth to *Nantes*, and so towards *Bla-*
 “ *vet*, the 8th of *April*, to leave it blocked, so as
 “ we shall have our dispatch before he depart either
 “ one way or other. If he do satisfy under his hand
 “ these last matters, we will proceed further: if he
 “ do not, we will come; so as we beseech your
 “ Lordships, that our ships may be at *Caen*, and to
 “ think, that we are not so rash, as to do any thing with-
 “ out reason. If the King part from *Nantes*, he will
 “ not

“ not be back in three weeks. Whatsoever we find, we
 “ will keep all things still *in esse*, till we may wait on
 “ her Majesty. If the power come, we will then inform
 “ the Queen, whether we and the States Deputies
 “ find it fit here, in our poor opinions, that a treaty
 “ be prepared; for if not, but that a war must be,
 “ we will also, without giving final answer one way
 “ or other, take our leaves, and promise them her
 “ Majesty’s resolution. This is all that we can do
 “ with our limitation, which we may not exceed.
 “ Though we have made great difficulty to follow
 “ the King to *Nantes*, yet it is not prejudicial for us
 “ to go, though necessity for her Majesty’s service
 “ did not require it: for though it be somewhat fur-
 “ ther from *Caen*, as it lies, than *Angers*; yet it is
 “ a safer way to *Caen* this from *Angers*; and *Rennes*,
 “ with many other good towns, are by that way to
 “ be had to lodge in: besides, we shall have a convoy
 “ of *Montgomery’s* horse, which we may trust, that
 “ will not cut our throats, or betray us, when we
 “ come near the scattered troops, that must march to-
 “ wards *Blavet*.

“ And thus having singly and rudely delivered
 “ these particulars, wherein we could not avoid
 “ length, which is no pleasure to either of us, we
 “ do most humbly take our leaves.

“ *Angers* this 27th of *March* 1598.

Your Lordships most humbly at commandment.

R. Cecyl,
 J. Herbert.

“ Because we have so urged to hear whether the
 “ power were come or no, the King hath sent a
 “ courier expressly to *Vervins*, and the 30th he
 “ shall be here with particular certainty.”

The

The discovery mentioned in this letter, and transmitted to the *English* Commissioners from the Queen; of which *Camden* takes not the least notice, was a packet of intercepted letters from the Cardinal of *Austria* to the King of *Spain*, which, being thrown into the sea by those, who had the charge of it, were fished up by some *English* fishermen, as the *French* King gives an account to his Embassadors at *Vervins*, in a letter of the 9th of *April* 1598, N.S.(a). These letters shewed the resolution of that King to conclude the peace without a proper regard to *Queen Elizabeth*, or the States of the *United Provinces*. It appeared likewise from them, that the King of *Spain* had sent instructions to the Archduke, that if the *French* insisted upon the *English* being comprehended in the peace, the Archduke should require, in the name of the Pope, that the exercise of the *Roman* catholic religion should be free in *England*, for which the Catholics of that country were very importunate with the Pope, and the King of *Spain*: And that *Flyshing* and *Brill* should be delivered up to him; and if a sum of money should be demanded for these towns, an account of such demand should be sent to him, and his orders upon it waited for: And that, with regard to the rebels of the *Low Countries*, he required, that they should not be comprehended in the peace, except upon condition of re-establishing the *Roman* catholic religion throughout the country; acknowledging the King for their Sovereign; and restoring the old officers, who were still living, to their posts; in such manner however, that those, who should stay in the country, should be capable of filling these posts, if they were Catholics, and not heretics: and that a general act of oblivion and pardon should be granted *. The *English* Commissioners

(a) *Memoires de Bellicvre & de Silleri*, p. 208.
ren, L. xix. fol. 423.

* *Metc-*

had

had orders to expostulate with the King of *France*, upon what related to him in these intercepted papers; which they did in a conference with him on the 28th of *March* 1598; of which they sent the following account to her Majesty, from *Nantes*, on the 5th of *April* (b).

“ *Most gracious Sovereign,*

“ After we had received your Majesty’s letters, so full of princely and prudent direction, by Mr. *Mole*, we found nothing left for us, but to apply them to our present negotiation, with our best diligence and discretion, according to the circumstances of the time. How we had proceeded formerly, till the hour of his arrival, we have delivered your Majesty an exact account, by long and particular discourses sent to my Lords, being driven to husband our time, and value our instructions, as much as we could, until we might see, whether the *Spanish* commission were come, or no; whereby at least your honour might be thus saved, that, if you had pleased, you might have treated. On *Monday*, the 27th of *March*, the King rode forth very early, and came in very late. That night I, the Secretary, sent to have audience the next day. He sent me word, that he must take physic; but in the afternoon I should be welcome. About three of the clock, on *Tuesday*, we both went to him, and found him in bed; where I, the Secretary, did desire him (because the matter was weighty) that he would be pleased, for my discharge, to hear us both together. He yielded to it willingly, and so we sat down by his bed-side, where we warmed him so well, that, whether it was his physic, or our message, Monsr. *le Grand* was fain to fetch drink for him. Be-

(b) MS. State-Papers of *Anthony Bacon*, Esq;

“ fore

142 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ fore our coming to him, we had considered how
 “ much we should disadvantage so plain a matter,
 “ if we should speak unto him in other style than
 “ with assurance, that his Deputies had done as
 “ much as was discovered by the letters, tho’ with
 “ such reservation to himself, as became us; although
 “ we must plainly tell your Majesty, that inwardly
 “ our hearts so boiled, as we held ourselves accursed
 “ to tread upon this soil. We considered further,
 “ that we should no sooner touch upon any part of
 “ the quick, but that he, who knew all to be done,
 “ would strait conceive, we knew more than we
 “ spake; and therefore thought it unfit, by tempo-
 “ rizing, to give him any leisure to study, or advise
 “ with others, for his answer. We have therefore
 “ thought good to set down here precisely the same
 “ language, which I, the Secretary, used; for we,
 “ that know your Majesty to be, in all languages,
 “ one of the *mieux-disans* of Europe, must justly
 “ think, that your Majesty hath cause to be very
 “ jealous, whether your meaning hath been delivered
 “ in the *French* to the same sense, which our *English*
 “ repetition should now express. And therefore I,
 “ the Secretary, beseech your Majesty to pardon my
 “ error especially, who have come so short of that
 “ significancy and propriety, which, in your pure
 “ style, doth always flourish.

“ Sire,

“ *Depuis que j’ay eu l’honneur de veoir vostre Majesté,*
 “ *j’ay reçu une despesche de la Royne ma Souveraine,*
 “ *Et suis infiniment marry de ce que par son comman-*
 “ *dement, sur l’exigence des affaires, je suis contraint*
 “ *vous faire ses plaintes tres-instantes, pour le grand*
 “ *regret Et mescontentement, qu’elle a d’avoir occasion*
 “ *de se mesfier de la sincerité de vostre affection en son*
 “ *endroit, qu’elle a toujours tenue pour fidelle Et in-*
 “ *violable, ayant eu notable indice, que les procédures*
 “ *de*

" de vos Ministres en ce present traité de la paix avec
 " l'Espagnol portent desseing & prom-ssé, que vostre
 " Majesté se laisseroit en fin aller rompre la foy pub-
 " lique, que vous luy avez jurée. Elle ne peult, Sire,
 " croire chose si indigne de vous; mais les lettres
 " mesme, qui luy sont tombés entre les mains des Depu-
 " tés d'Espagne, & d'autres, portent clairement tel-
 " les assurances. Elle ne peult aussy que le supporter
 " avec beaucoup d'impatience, jusques à ce qu'elle soit
 " au vrai esclaircie par vous mesme de la verité, &
 " que vous luy aiez fait paroistre, combien il vous des-
 " plaist, que vous Ministres ayent tenus telles procedures
 " en son endroit.

" Ces lettres des Deputés d'Espagne escriptes au
 " Cardinal contiennent, qu'ils sont acertenez, tant par
 " le Legat, qu'aussy par vos Ministres, que vostre Ma-
 " jesté est resoluë de leur donner pouvoir de concluire
 " son traité particulier, s'il y a empeschement en l'ac-
 " cord de vos Confederés; & que vostre Majesté con-
 " sent, que vos Deputés signent de part & de l'autre les
 " articles convenus pour vostre accord particulier, le-
 " quel seroit baillé pour quelque temps entre les mains
 " du Legat; & que vous ne vous attaches maintenant à
 " la formalité de leur considération, que seulement
 " pour l'acquit d'honneur; dont s'il plait à vostre
 " Majesté avoir plus particulier cognoissance, je luy
 " remonstreray l'extraict de quelques unes des dittes
 " lettres. Pour aussi assurer vostre Majesté, qu'il n'y a
 " aucun artifice ou simulation de la part de la Royne
 " ma Souveraine en ce que je viens de vous représen-
 " ter, je vous proteste sur mon honneur, & devant le
 " Dieu vivant (comme M^r. Herbert icy le pourra
 " tesmoigner) que l'extraict, que je vous exhibe, est le
 " fidelle abrégé des lettres, qui ont esté prises, escrit-
 " tes en chiffre par le Cardinal au Roy d'Espagne,
 " dont les originaux sont entre les mains de sa Ma-
 " jesté. Et la Royne ma Souveraine prend merveil-
 " leusement à coeur le scandale, que ces declarations
 " ap-

144 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ apportent en prejudice de l'estroite amitié, qui est
 “ entre vous ; pour lever lequel soupçon, elle m'a com-
 “ mandé vous semondre & conjurer (s'il vous plaît)
 “ de lui ouvrir en cecy fidèlement vostre coeur, quelles
 “ sont vos intentions, & si vous avez fait signer tels
 “ articles ; & l'en éclaircir vivement par l'assurance
 “ expresse de vos lettres, m'ayant commandé de ne le
 “ communiquer qu'au vous, & ne voulant croire que
 “ vostre Majesté seule, sur la conscience & intégrité de
 “ laquelle elle se repose, qu'elle fera plus equitable ju-
 “ gement de ses merites, que en pourront ou en voudront
 “ faire ceux de son conseil.

“ Et pourceque sa Majesté ait envoyé un Gentilhomme
 “ tout expres pour porter quant à luy nostre réponse,
 “ nous vous supplions bien humblement, que vostre Ma-
 “ jesté se vueille esclaircir sur ce subjeet, afin que nous
 “ pourrions juger comment nous avons à nous gouver-
 “ ner pour vostre descharge.

“ After he had heard this first speech without fur-
 “ ther interruption, saying in this kind, *Ab ! cela*
 “ *est fait en Angleterre : La Roynie ne me trouvera*
 “ *pour tel ;* with divers other broken speeches, some-
 “ times smiling in scorn of the invention, and some-
 “ times rapping out an oath, all tending to absolute
 “ denial, he made this quiet answer : First, that, on
 “ his honour, and by his part in paradise, he never
 “ gave any such commandment : And that he was
 “ sure, that his Ministers durst not, for their heads,
 “ commit any such act ; but still inferring, that it
 “ was either an artifice of some in *England*, or of the
 “ States.

“ To this we replied, first, that as assuredly as we
 “ knew the light from darkness, so truly we did both
 “ know, that this was no device of *England*, of
 “ *Holland*, nor of any creature living, but the work
 “ of the Cardinal himself ; whereof myself in parti-
 “ cular, the Secretary, had so perfect knowledge ;

“ as,

“ as, if he would believe me as a Christian, I did
 “ protest upon my religion and faith, that it was no-
 “ thing but the true letter and cypher of the Car-
 “ dinal ; whereof I had reason to be well acquainted,
 “ having had divers of them fall into my hands.
 “ And therefore it grieved me to see him passionate
 “ in distrust, though I joyed to see him passionate
 “ in denial of it : assuring him, that I did with my
 “ arms and legs broken for coming hither, until I
 “ had heard him. This we both spoke to him with
 “ feeling. Well, saith he, I am satisfied ; but I did
 “ always quit your Mistress ; and now go on, I
 “ pray you, saith he. What be these further parti-
 “ cular great presumptions ? Thereupon I, *John*
 “ *Herbert*, read unto him this extract inclosed ;
 “ wherein we used those cautions, which I, the Se-
 “ cretary, received also from my Lord my Father,
 “ in his private letter to me.

“ For, first, we left out any of those articles, which
 “ shewed the King of *Spain*’s readines to yield un-
 “ to him all his desires ; because that would have
 “ made him proud, and to raise himself toward us :
 “ for though we think he knows too well what he
 “ shall have of *Spain*, yet we would not have him
 “ think, that we know it out of the *Spaniard*’s
 “ mouth. Secondly, we left out any thing, that
 “ might shew to him, that the *Spaniard* meant to
 “ offer any injurious conditions to *England* ; for
 “ then he would also have thought your Majesty’s
 “ state the more irreconcilable ; and therefore we on-
 “ ly acquainted him with the report of *Villeroy*’s
 “ speeches, of the Legate’s speeches, of *Bellieure*’s
 “ speeches, and other things, which we have farther
 “ set down in the inclosed.

“ When he had heard this, he did make this an-
 “ swer very sensibly and orderly, without study, and
 “ without advice ; for he little dreamed of such an
 “ overture, we can assure your Majesty, it not being

146 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ the least work to procure audiences so private as
 “ settled, as we have had no small number. I
 “ said, that, in this matter, we observed three things.
 “ First, the instructions from the Cardinal to the
 “ *Spanish* Deputies: Secondly, speeches of the Legate:
 “ Thirdly, discourses, speeches, and promises
 “ of his Ministers. For the first, he had nothing
 “ to answer them. The Cardinal might prefer
 “ what he listed; and it was no other like, but
 “ would, by his Commissioners, propound the
 “ hardest.

“ For the Legate’s speeches of him, true it was
 “ that he had ever shewed himself to the Legate
 “ be desirous of a peace: and so had he reason;
 “ his honour was engaged in it; and the Pope had
 “ travelled in it; and he must not lose his reputation
 “ with them, howsoever others contemned
 “ peace; wishing us to think, whether it be not
 “ pretty time, that he hath kept *le bon homme*, the
 “ Legate, at the beggarly town of *Vervins* for
 “ months, day by day, and only of purpose to
 “ what the Queen of *England* would do.

“ For the rest, true it was, that the Commissioners
 “ wrote to him, when he went into *Bretagne*,
 “ that the *Spaniard* said, he meant but to abuse
 “ them, and to make his profit; and that they
 “ feared to be gone; and that the Cardinal himself
 “ protested, that he knew the King of *Spain* would
 “ tax him for that facility, which he had shewed
 “ ready. Whereupon, saith he, I directed them
 “ use all art to keep them together, whilst my affairs
 “ were accommodated in *Bretagne*; in which
 “ time, when I had greatest need, the Queen drew
 “ away her succours, and left my frontiers naked.
 “ This, saith he, may have been the cause, that
 “ Ministers, in private discourses, have used
 “ speeches of my resolution. But that all is true
 “ that the *Spanish* Deputies report to the Cardinal

“ 2

and that the Cardinal writes to the King ; God and
 I know they have not done it, nor dare not. No,
 the Queen must think, that the *Low Countries* af-
 fect the peace : The Cardinal also for his private ;
 and yet he is accountable to a master, that wonders
 why nothing is done. And therefore the Cardinal
 seeing, that *Bretagne* is reduced ; that I will have
 the Queen and the States included, with whose
 finesse he is well acquainted ; being yet desirous
 to bring all well to pass, if it might be, hath written
 thus to the King, that he may see his careful in-
 structions to his Deputies ; and what cause his
 Deputies gave him still to continue the treaty.
 This it must needs be, and nothing else, saith he ;
 and so certify the Queen, I pray you ; for she shall
 never find me *trompeur*, nor *pipeur*. And when
 I have a mind to do such an act, I will never de-
 ny it ; for I had as willingly it were known to-day
 as to-morrow.

“ We told him, we were glad to hear his Majesty’s
 words so absolute : We hoped he could not find but
 her Majesty had cause to do what she did ; and
 that, in this doing, she dealt like to her own frank,
 pure, and royal spirit.

“ He confessed, that it was true : but now, saith
 he, that you are satisfied, what doth the Queen
 say ? Tell me, to satisfy me. Will she join with
 me to make peace or no with *Spain*, now power
 is come ? Or will she assist me in such sort, as may
 be for our safety, and common profit ? You speak
 nothing directly to me. If she would make me
 a good offer, she should see, whether I were so
 tied, that I would not break the treaty.

“ We then answered him, that, for your Majesty’s
 drawing away of your troops at the instant, your
 Majesty had kept them there fifteen months, and
 shipping had been sent for them three months
 before. Besides, they were sent for *Ireland* upon

“ extremity : And yet if *de Maiſſe* had importuned
 “ for them, as much as he ſolicited the peace, her
 “ Maſteſty, we know, would not have denied them.

“ For the power, which, he ſaid, was come now,
 “ that the States might know ſo much, we would
 “ do our beſt to perſuade them : And, as we found
 “ them, ſo he ſhould hear more.

“ Well, ſaith he, then muſt you to *Nantes* ; for
 “ I muſt needs be gone to-morrow. We told him,
 “ that we had commandment, even as we would
 “ bear the peril of it, not for to proceed further in
 “ any matter, till we had ſuch ſatisfaction in our-
 “ ſelves by his answer, as might warrant our judg-
 “ ment in not ſuſpending the negotiation ; being
 “ men better brought up than to doubt ſuch a
 “ religious and princely vow of ſuch a Prince : Yet
 “ we could not diſcharge ourſelves intirely, without
 “ it would pleaſe him to ſatisfy her Maſteſty, by a
 “ letter to herſelf, what he had done, and what he
 “ will do.

“ Well, ſaith he, though ſhe write not to me, and
 “ that, I am ſure, ſhe will not diſtruſt you two ;
 “ yet I will write that, which is fit for a letter, as
 “ things ſtand now : And therefore, ſaith he, you
 “ ſhall have my letter. And, beſides, I will ſend
 “ *Villeroy* to you, to ſatisfy you particularly, what
 “ he hath ſaid, or done : for this is true, I repeat
 “ it again : No ſuch thing is done, nor ever
 “ commanded to be done. And where they ſay,
 “ that mine did move them to ſend for a new com-
 “ miſſion ; and that I did ſay, I will write to the
 “ Queen to be content ; the Queen knows herſelf,
 “ I never writ ſo to her ; nor never did it proceed
 “ but from their motion to ſend for a new, when
 “ my ſervants miſliked the former built upon it,
 “ ſaith he.

“ We then departed, and, by that time we had
 “ been at our lodging ſome hours, the Duke of
 “ *Bou-*

“ *Bouillon* came to me, the Secretary, to see me ;
 “ I having been, the day before, with the Princess
 “ of *Orange*, and the Ducheſs of *Bouillon*.

“ As we were talking, *Villeroy* and *Maiſſe*, who
 “ had been with the States, came to my lodging, and
 “ found the Duke with me ; who, offering to go
 “ away, he ſtayed him, and ſaid, he might remain.
 “ He then, in ſhort, began to tell us what the King
 “ had ſaid ; and, following ever the ſame courſe,
 “ which the King did, in making ſhew, that it was
 “ only the Cardinal’s device for his own juſtification,
 “ diſt, in the hearing of the Duke, and us, vow, by
 “ monſtrous oaths, that was neither any ſuch thing
 “ as ſigning, or any authority given to ſign any
 “ thing.

“ We did then deſire him to haſten the King’s
 “ letter, that we might fall to ſome reſolution ; for
 “ we waſted time here ; and ſome other affairs went
 “ on apace. He told us we ſhould ; and ſo we
 “ ended.

“ Being deſirous now, that we were thus driven
 “ to the wall, to adviſe with the States, and with
 “ 49*, what to do, we muſt aſſure your Maſteſty,
 “ that we found the States reſolute not to hearken
 “ to treaty. We find all them of the Religion
 “ abſolutely of opinion, that the King make peace ;
 “ and can have no other counſel of them, but that
 “ your Maſteſty muſt offer him ſome great help.
 “ Such are the neceſſities of *Spain* ; ſuch is the greed-
 “ ineſs of *France* ; and ſuch is the unremovable re-
 “ ſolution of the States, not to treat any way.

“ We have now delivered to your Maſteſty a true
 “ and plain narration, though divers other argu-
 “ ments have paſſed, which we cannot ſet down,
 “ being aſhamed to have thus detained your Royal
 “ eyes. You know our power, that we cannot pro-

* Probably the Duke of *Bouillon*.

“ mise treaty without the States ; neither may
 “ discover ourselves to have come over for nothi
 “ but inquisition ; for then shall we confirm, t
 “ we were sent only to gain time : So as, being dri
 “ to use the best of our poor slender judgments,
 “ have resolved of this course, and not without adv
 “ both of 49 and 95 : First, to the intent to k
 “ him in expectation, we will tell the King, that
 “ are sure, when your Majesty is informed of
 “ these particulars, you will quickly resolve, eit
 “ to help him, or concur with him in the treaty ;
 “ which belongs choice of other Commiſſion
 “ place, and other forms.

“ For the help in particular, we cannot speak
 “ it ; but therein would be glad to know, what
 “ would desire ; and for what purpose ; that
 “ common utility of it may be discerned by yo
 “ self, and your council. For such it may be,
 “ he were as good tell us, in plain terms, he di
 “ mean to conclude without your Majesty.

“ Secondly, we will privately tell him, that al
 “ we have so sufficient understanding of your M
 “ jesty’s mind, as that we know most of your M
 “ jesty’s conditions, on which you will stand w
 “ the *Spaniard* for the peace ; and that we mi
 “ give the King presently liberty to assure the S
 “ *niard* underhand, that he doth find by us no o
 “ likelihood now, but that your Majesty will s
 “ Commission to treat according to the power, wh
 “ is come from them ; yet, finding now, t
 “ the States were so replied (which your Maje
 “ believed not, when we came from you) we
 “ constrained to desire the King, in respect of
 “ circumstance, that he will give us leave to re
 “ to your Majesty ; and that we might carry
 “ States with us, who do contest with us, that t
 “ know, howsoever *France* would use them, yet
 “ your Majesty would hear them also, howsoever af

“ w

ward you might resolve to proceed. To this request of them, we mean to tell the King, that we dare not but condescend; it being past all our rules, that his Majesty can think it safe or honourable, that they should be left out: And therefore we must have new instructions. If we should say we would write home, he would think we would but waste time; and your Majesty should lack such light, as we can give you by way of information, though we are far from presumption of thinking to give. Besides, your Majesty may well think, that, at our parting, he will speak in his last and clearest voice to us; whom if he find still content to tarry, he will still hope to draw us on by little and little.

"The good, that your Majesty shall have by this, is this, if he do not follow the greedy and corrupt counsel of this nation, who commonly answer, even the best of them, when there is speech either of faith or honour's breaking, that necessity hath no law; that every man ought to provide first for himself. Your Majesty shall then win time here. You shall have these two, which are of the best Ministers the States have, humble petitioners to you in *England*, on whom your Majesty will work more in an hour, than all your instruments can do in a month. We have also had opportunity to see them now, and can guess somewhat by *Barneveldt* what may be looked for; for they are past their old rules now, and do plainly confess, that they see what trust to give *France*; and have observed what your Majesty's direct proceedings are.

"By this course, if your Majesty shall find it fit, by taking some good resolution, to disorder the present facility of the *French* King's peace, which, being once disjointed, will not so easily be set together; your Majesty will see, that they will do

152 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ as much in it to ease you, as can be found reasonable, rather than your Majesty should leave them.

“ If, on the other side, your divine judgment resolve, that it is better to suffer *France* to make peace alone, than further to help him; then is your Majesty, by these means, eased of sending any to the States; with whom, howsoever things go, we think your Majesty will newly consult; for things stand, to our poor understanding now, but rawly, come peace or war: And there will we so use it, as *Barneveldt* shall voluntarily come creeping to you, who, we assure your Majesty, is wise, and with whom we have had so many and particular conferences (almost once a day, since we met) as in many things your Majesty shall make very good use, *in omnem eventum*, of their coming to seek you, and not the worse, when you have heard our poor informations: for we must plainly lay before your Majesty, that although the King hath said in both our hearings, as much as we have written; and that, if he be not a monster, he hath said true of that which is past; yet both of us, and I, the Secretary especially, who have had access many times, and have heard him in many humours, and sometime upon suddens in liberal speeches, and sometime in serious, discover himself to me his ends, and his natural disposition, dare not say other to your Majesty, than that I fear *France* will be *France*, and leave his best friends, though to his own future ruin; to which, I think, God hath ordained it.

“ The States have been with the King since our audience, and have made him direct offers to continue the former four thousand men, and more, to any good purpose; and have plainly laid before him, that neither the law of God or man will suffer him to leave them.

“ They

“ They have returned to us, and have passionately related his answer to be this, that his friends have helped him long; and that he hopes, after two years peace, to order all things, and to be able to help them, if they need. So as they are in despair, and now only attend to see what he will say to us; to whom he yet never used any such language. If your Majesty conceive, that, it may be, he doth this, to merchant upon us and them, we submit ourselves to your opinion. But your Majesty sees too well, by the intercepted letters, how near he is to his own conditions; and therefore if your Majesty should think we do this to have further instructions from you to make him some particular offers, we do protest against that; for we should but abuse your Majesty, to desire it. But we will come provided, by way of discourse, without engaging you, to inform you, what it is they would have, and how they would offer it should be used for any good to your Majesty; which when we have told you, then it is fit for you and your Council there to advise of either way, whether your Majesty shall do any thing for him in the war, or leave him to his peace, and stand upon yourself with the States: Of both which ways be it far from us to judge; not doubting, if you shall be driven to the last way of proceeding, but God and your cause will defend you; though your Majesty cannot but consider, that the State of *Ireland* and *Scotland* both are greatly changed since 88, when *France* was not in war with *Spain*.

“ This do we humbly represent unto your Majesty, as an argument, that we are near our further inquisition, having found more than we wish; and therefore mean now to labour only to this end, that when we have inquired, and informed, and used all the strength of our instructions, we

“ may

154 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ may leave things un concluded, so as you may ha
 “ the liberty of election. This, that we can do,
 “ hope we shall do you no ill service, which is th
 “ for which we were born. If his answer shall
 “ either partial to himself, or such, as we find he
 “ content, that we should so construe ; then, in th
 “ case, as the States have already spoken plainly
 “ him (according to our agreement with them) a
 “ mean to pursue it, when they are upon dispat
 “ from *Nantes* ; so I, the Secretary, will finally
 “ him know, that your Majesty, before he was Kin
 “ and since, when all the world had abandoned hi
 “ did royally assist him ; and thereby brought h
 “ to be capable of those conditions, which no
 “ have made him change his language ; and, no
 “ withstanding all contracts before, or treaties sin
 “ your Majesty never received performance of a
 “ thing.

“ And whereas he doth still insist upon the nec
 “ sity, that presseth him, your Majesty must ne
 “ take that as a fair evasion out of that, to whi
 “ both public faith, and infinite benefits, by grea
 “ necessity, do bind him.

“ And because he seems to say, that your Maje
 “ draws things to length, and that we are co
 “ over to gain time ; I will likewise invert it
 “ on him, that his drawing us hither (from wher
 “ we can have no speedy returns of our dispatch
 “ hath been the only cause of any protraction. A
 “ if he will say, that we ought to have had pro
 “ sional commission (which is common in th
 “ mouths) we will tell him, that provisional instr
 “ tions are always by Princes left to the judgm
 “ of their Ministers, to declare them upon new ac
 “ cidents or circumstances ; and in this case that ju
 “ ment doth teach us to be in some things reserv
 “ until we see how your Majesty can satisfy
 “ States, to treat without them, if he shall o
 “ h

“ have given ſuch a final answer; your Ma-
 “ jeſty having never before received into your thoughts
 “ any conceit, that he could think it lawful or ex-
 “ pedient: and therefore that your Ma-jeſty muſt
 “ hear them, as well as he hath done, before you
 “ would like, that we ſhould give him the *dernier*
 “ *mot*.

“ Beſides, we will tell him plainly, that, without
 “ a ſight of a copy of the Commiſſion, your Ma-
 “ jeſty cannot ſend any body to the treaty: for if
 “ the King of *Spain* ſpeak of the Pope in the Com-
 “ miſſion, which hath relation to your Ma-jeſty, or
 “ uſe any other punctilio, which may carry away in-
 “ equal ſenſe, your Ma-jeſty will diſdain to ſend any
 “ Commiſſioners thither. So as I will tell him ſo
 “ plainly, that if either his demands for the war be
 “ exorbitant, as your Ma-jeſty ſhall find they be but
 “ motives to be denied; or if he, or any of his Mi-
 “ niſters, can think your Ma-jeſty will be carried poſt
 “ into a treaty, wherein ſo many new circumſtances
 “ are to be conſidered; they will be deceived, and
 “ his Ma-jeſty will never be able to juſtify his ſepara-
 “ tion from you before God or man, when he doth
 “ well conſider his ſacred vows, of which the Earl of
 “ *Sbrewſbury* is witneſs; or remember how many
 “ mens lives, and what ſums of treasure, your Ma-
 “ jeſty hath ſpent for his conſervation: Wherein we
 “ will be bold, as we ſhall ſee cauſe, to know of
 “ him alſo, what courſe your Ma-jeſty ſhall expect
 “ for the preſent payments of all thoſe debts, which
 “ he doth owe your Ma-jeſty; ſeeing now his new
 “ amity will free him from all his neceſſities.

“ We do ſend your Ma-jeſty herewith his letter,
 “ which we required to warrant our report; where-
 “ in when we noted the ſtyle to be too bare, and
 “ did inſiſt to have it amended, we were plainly an-
 “ ſwered, that many ways letters are intercepted:
 “ That he hath ſpoken to us at large already, whom
 “ he

156 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ he thought your Majesty would trust. He was a
 “ Prince Sovereign, and desired to be believed as
 “ other Princes would be ; and that if the *Spaniards*
 “ should intercept his letters, it would put no
 “ small jealousy into their heads ; and then your
 “ Majesty might haply care less for him. But, to
 “ tell your Majesty truth, I, the Secretary, know it
 “ affirmatively by good means, that he was per-
 “ suaded, that such a letter it might have been, as I
 “ would have caused to have been conveyed to the
 “ enemy’s knowledge by some means or other.

“ Now hath your Majesty all, which we have
 “ done, can do, or think fit to be done ; wherein,
 “ if your Majesty think it shall be used without dis-
 “ cretion, we have then enjoyed (and I, the Secre-
 “ tary, especially) too much of your Majesty’s former
 “ trust.

“ I humbly beseech your Majesty therefore to be
 “ in no pain through any such apprehension ; for, I
 “ thank God, nature hath not made me lavish, nor
 “ violent ; though I protest to your Majesty, if his
 “ ingratitude shall now appear, when it shall come
 “ to trial, I shall, in my heart, abhor him ; for he
 “ hath both wit, courage, and means to do other-
 “ wise ; although as a carnal natural man it may be
 “ said, that it is, *prima facie*, the longest way about,
 “ to seek that by war, which he may get by peace.

“ And thus beseeching the ever-living God to
 “ bless your Majesty with perfect health, and eternal
 “ happiness, we most humbly take our leaves,

Your Majesty’s humble and obedient servants,

R. Cecyll,
 J. Herbert.

“ Your Majesty shall find, by the letter from the
 “ King, how he doth balk the denial of his Ministers
 “ speaking

“ speaking to sign the articles; though he writeth
 “ plainly, that they have not signed, nor never had
 “ had commandment to sign. I desired to see the
 “ copy of the letter, and did plainly expostulate,
 “ why he did not as well in the letter disavow that
 “ point, as the other, having so fully forsworn both.
 “ I am termed too curious; and that the King had
 “ said enough, if reason would serve, and so much
 “ as any Christian would believe. But for the
 “ King, under, to disavow his Ministers doing (to
 “ whom he gave licence to use large words in ex-
 “ tremities to keep them from breaking off) he
 “ would not do it by my leave; for so might this
 “ use be made of it, that the *Spaniard*, finding,
 “ that they would say that, for which they had no
 “ warrant in one thing, might well think they would
 “ say so in others. To tell your Majesty my re-
 “ plies, were to be more tedious; but, to be short,
 “ I must either take this or nothing; for it hath
 “ made me stay this dispatch five days; for I could
 “ not forbear but to let them see, that it was necessity,
 “ and not my simplicity, that made it to be accept-
 “ ed by me; for, in my conscience, the King’s Mi-
 “ nisters did speak of it, either by warrant of him-
 “ self, or Monfr. *Villeroy*. But, which party he meant
 “ to disguise withal, I dare not judge, because he is
 “ the Lord’s anointed.”

Nantes, 5 Apr. 1598.

The day before the date of this letter, the *French*
 King wrote from *Nantes* to his Embassadors at *Ver-*
vins (c), that the *English* Commissioners had in-
 formed him of their resolution to go themselves to
Vervins, to enter into a treaty for their Mistress :
 “ Which, says the King, I have let them know, that
 “ I cannot but highly approve of : But I know ve-

(c) *Memoires de Bellievre & de Silleri*, p. 234.

158 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ry well they are in pain how to conduct them-
 “selves with regard to the Legate, when they shall
 “come thither: For, as they have learned by the in-
 “tercepted letters, of which I have sent you an ac-
 “count, that the Cardinal of *Austria*’s Embassadors
 “have exprefs charge, among other things, to de-
 “mand the re-establishment of the exercise of the
 “Catholic religion in *England*, they are apprehen-
 “sive of meeting with the Legate on that account,
 “and fearful of being intangled in that respect,
 “having observed, from the above-mentioned in-
 “tercepted letters, that their friendship is not great-
 “ly desired. For which reason they have suggested
 “to me the transferring to some place, between *Ca-*
 “*lais* and *Boulogne*, their conference with the Car-
 “dinal’s Deputies, persuading themselves, that the
 “Legate will not be willing to be present there,
 “nor the General of the Cordeliers. But I have
 “let them know, that I cannot dispense with the
 “presence of either of these, in the conclusion of
 “what relates to me; since it was of great import-
 “ance, that the Pope, having begun and prosecuted
 “this negotiation, should continue as the pledge
 “and security of what should be agreed in it; which
 “would not be the case, if the Legate and General
 “should abandon it. And that I thought it very
 “difficult to remove them elsewhere, on account of
 “their age and indisposition, after having staid so
 “long, and lost so much time, at *Vervins*, merely on
 “account, and in expectation, of the said *English*
 “Commissioners. Besides which, my affairs did
 “not stand in need of such a prolongation and de-
 “lay of the resolution of the treaty, as would be oc-
 “casioned by the change and removal of the said
 “Assembly, especially the season being so far ad-
 “vanced as it is. And perhaps the design of the
 “*English* might be as much to retard it, as to bring
 “it to a conclusion; as I cannot persuade myself,
 “that

“ that they are at all pleased with the restitution to
 “ me of my towns, and especially *Calais*, of which
 “ they have not at present given me the least de-
 “ monstration. But I see plainly, that they are ex-
 “ tremely alarmed at your proceedings, since they
 “ have seen the intercepted letters; for, since that
 “ time, they have changed their language, and de-
 “ clared openly their inclination of treating, and go-
 “ ing to *Vervins* for that purpose. But, in my opi-
 “ nion, this is only to oblige me not to conclude my
 “ agreement without them, hoping, when they are
 “ upon the spot, to traverse or retard it, so that our
 “ forces, on both sides, being assembled, some new
 “ incident may happen, which may favour their de-
 “ sign. For this reason it is necessary to conclude
 “ our articles as soon as we can, agreeably to what
 “ I wrote to you by *la Fontaine*; for which I
 “ shall begin to prepare the *English* in the best man-
 “ ner I can, that they may not be absolutely startled;
 “ for I am desirous of contributing to their repose,
 “ as well as to my own: But I do not intend to ruin
 “ my own affairs out of regard to them; the pre-
 “ servation of my people being much dearer to me
 “ than any other consideration. The *English* Com-
 “ missioners arrive here to-day: If they make any
 “ overture to me, you shall be immediately inform-
 “ ed of it. In the mean while, you will make your
 “ advantage of what I write to you, I have disco-
 “ vered of their intention; and give me your advice
 “ in every thing.

“ I am in much greater pain for the States of the
 “ *Low Countries*, than for the others; for the whole
 “ weight of the war will fall upon their shoulders,
 “ under which I fear they will immediately sink.
 “ It is for this reason, that I have so much desired,
 “ and still desire, to obtain a cessation, of arms, of
 “ which I wrote to you by *la Fontaine*; and pray
 “ you still to use your endeavours for that purpose.

“ However, if you cannot procure it, do not de-
 “ lay, on that account, concluding our affair ; but
 “ obtain at least, that time may be given to the
 “ *English*, and the States of the *Low Countries*, to
 “ treat ; and take care, that, in this point, things
 “ be carried on in a manner, that shall clear me as
 “ much as possible : And be careful likewise, if it
 “ shall be proper, to cover and excuse the hastening
 “ of what you shall do, by the indisposition of the
 “ Legate ; by the jealousy, which the *Spaniards* have
 “ conceived from the length of your negotiation ;
 “ by the prosperity of my affairs here, and the ar-
 “ rival here of the *English* and *Dutch* Commis-
 “ sioners ; and the impatience shewn at *Vervins* of both
 “ parties of a longer stay there. For it is not to
 “ be doubted, but that what we shall do, will be dis-
 “ covered ; and that both the one and the other will
 “ attack me, and complain strongly, though, in
 “ truth, they alone are the cause of what shall hap-
 “ pen, from the little regard, which they have
 “ shewn to the advices, which I have given them
 “ of the said treaty, and not sending in time their
 “ Commissioners thither, as they might and ought
 “ to have done. Inform me immediately of every
 “ thing that you shall do ; and recommend secrecy
 “ to the Legate, that he may oblige the *Spaniards*,
 “ and procure them to keep it as carefully as pos-
 “ sible.”

The *English* and *Dutch* Commissioners were now
 impatient to return home ; and Secretary *Villeroy*
 wrote to the *French* Embassadors at *Vervins*, on the
 12th of *April*, O. S. 1598 (*d*), that the *French*
 Court had kept them so long, after the intercepting
 of the Cardinal of *Austria*'s letter to the King of
Spain, only by artifice, and against their will ; so that
 undoubtedly, says he, they will escape from us this

rk : and if in that interval we have no certain account of your agreement, Monsr. de Barneveldt will in the reputation of a true prophet ; for he has done that he can to make us believe, that the gentlemen, who treat with you, will deceive you in the conclusion your treaty, and in the execution and accomplishment of it, as men, who make a profession of and glory abusing all those who treat with them.

The *English* Commissioners accordingly took their leave of the *French* King on the 15th of *April*, O. S. appears from a letter of Secretary *Villeroy* to the *Dutch* Embassadors at *Vervins*, dated the 18th O. S. that month, wherein he writes as follows (e) :

“ We have been obliged to dispatch the *English* and *Dutch* Embassadors, because they were resolved to return home ; and it was not possible for us to detain them any longer. Both of them are gone away extremely discontented : the former, because they wanted to oblige us not to resolve upon or conclude our agreement without them, without otherwise assuring us of their intentions, or of the time, when their Deputies should attend the Assembly, in order to treat. And the others, because they expected to engage us in war ; and we have let them understand, that we were desirous of engaging them in the peace with ourselves. And they have told us, that they had not power to do this, his Majesty has resolved to send again to their superiors the *Sieur de Buzanval*, to persuade them to it, if that can be done, according to what he wrote to you in our dispatch of the 9th of this month. Things being upon this foot, I leave you to think, in what situation we shall find ourselves, if at present there should happen a rupture with you, and what difficulty we shall have to regain our former credit with the *English* and *Dutch* :

(e) Ibid 258, 259, 260.

162 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ for though our interests in the prosecution of the
 “ war will rejoin us, yet it will not be with the same
 “ confidence and assurance as before ; which is the
 “ only evil, which we have always apprehended from
 “ your negotiation, and the reports of peace, which
 “ have been made public. Now whether we must
 “ drink this cup, or not, I tell you, as I have
 “ ready written, that it is of great importance to
 “ to be informed of the state of things with you
 “ and to be cleared of our doubts immediately, that
 “ we may give orders for our affairs one way or
 “ other.

“ When the *English* Embassadors arrived, they
 “ spoke to us of nothing but waiting only for
 “ power, which had been sent for from *Spain*, that
 “ they might go to the assembly, and treat ; talk
 “ at the same time of the continuation of the war
 “ terms, which made us believe, that they had
 “ inclination to engage further in it. But when they
 “ knew, that the said power was arrived, and
 “ question was to take their resolution upon it, they
 “ declared to us, that the power, which their Ministers
 “ had given them to treat, was restrained to the
 “ consent of those of the States of the *United Provinces*, so that they could do nothing with
 “ them : and seeing that they had no commission
 “ enter into this negotiation, they were of opinion
 “ continue the war ; for which they offered to
 “ the King six thousand men, who should like
 “ be paid, to recover *Calais*. To which if
 “ would not consent, they said, they must return
 “ *England*, in order to get the restriction above
 “ mentioned taken off, that they might enter into
 “ the treaty without the States. And they departed
 “ upon this on the 25th of this month, taking
 “ way by *Caen*. They used all their efforts to
 “ prevail upon the King to give them his word, not
 “ conclude his terms of peace before their return.

“ from *England*, which they said would be within a
 “ month at least, or ten days after. But his Majesty
 “ would not give them his word in that point, but
 “ only to keep things upon such a foot, that if they
 “ should come within that time, they should find
 “ the door still open for them to enter, and be ad-
 “ mitted. Upon this they have sent me in writing
 “ the articles, which they design to propound, if
 “ they treat, and which they have desired me to
 “ transmit to you, in order that you may take the
 “ trouble of discoursing, as if it were from yourselves,
 “ with the *Spanish* Embassadors, to discover, if pos-
 “ sible, their intention with regard to those articles,
 “ and to give us advice of it. I send you therefore
 “ the said *Memoire*, that you may do this office, if
 “ you can; for his Majesty would be extremely
 “ pleased with it; or, at least, to take such steps
 “ in it, as you shall judge most proper; for his Ma-
 “ jesty will not retard or ruin his own affairs on ac-
 “ count of them, or others, as I wrote to you in
 “ our dispatch of the 14th of this month, which I ad-
 “ dressed to you, by an express to *Louvet*, to be de-
 “ livered to you; to the contents of which we refer.
 “ I see plainly, that the *English* do not intend to re-
 “ store to the *Spaniards* the places, which the States
 “ have engaged to them, and which they possess;
 “ alledging, that if they must quit them, it ought
 “ to be to those, who have intrusted them with
 “ them, after they shall have been reimbursed the
 “ money advanced by them, which they make to
 “ amount to a great sum: And it seems, that they
 “ have discovered, by the intercepted letters, of
 “ which I sent you an account, what is the intention
 “ of the *Spaniards* in that respect. For my own
 “ part, I see, that the *English* will use all kinds of dili-
 “ gence, offers, and efforts, to traverse your treaty
 “ with regard to the *Spaniards*, since they have not
 “ gained

“gained any thing with us, in order to have *Calais*, which is the point of their ambition; having conducted themselves here with so much dissimulation and artifice, though gross, that we have less reason to expect good than ever. You will therefore take particular care of this; and I assure you, that if you can advance the restitution of *Calais*, you will do a very important service to the King and Kingdom.”

The *Memoire* mentioned in this letter, and drawn up by the *English* Commissioners, was to this purpose (f):

That the ancient treaties of friendship, privileges, and liberties, which were agreed upon between the late King *Henry VIII.* the Queen's father, and the Emperor *Charles*, as Duke of *Burgundy*, be renewed, with an abolition of all contraventions, which have been made with respect to them since the beginning of the reigns of the Queen, and the King of *Spain*.

That the subjects of the Queen shall have free traffic in all the countries of the King of *Spain*, without being searched or molested in their persons or goods by the ecclesiastical inquisition, unless they give apparent cause of scandal.

That the treaties and commerce be renewed and restored, which anciently subsisted between *England* and *Portugal*, before *Portugal* was annexed to *Spain*.

That all the prizes taken, and depredations made, on the one part and the other, either by sea or land, shall be thrown into oblivion and amnesty; and that all prisoners, who shall not have compounded for their ransom, shall be restored on both sides.

That the King reimburse the Queen for the money lent by her, in the year 1577, to the States, which

(f) Ibid. p. 261. 262.

re held at *Brussels*, at the instant request of his ambassadors, on account of the urgent necessity of affairs.

The *French* King likewise, in his letter to his ambassadors at *Vervins*, dated the 1st of *May*, N.S. ^(b), takes notice of the *English* and *Dutch* Commissioners having left him, with appearance of great dissatisfaction with him; the former, on account of his having advanced the treaty without them; and the latter, because they could not persuade him to alter his resolution, which he had declared to them, of recovering his towns by the peace. He observes, however, that he had promised the *English* Commissioners, not to ratify, within forty days, the articles, which his Embassador should sign; within which time the *English* Commissioners promised him to remain with their Mistress's pleasure, to enter upon the treaty, or to retire absolutely. *It was*, adds the King, *on the 24th or 25th of last month, that I made him this promise; notwithstanding which, I do not intend to delay one day doing my own business, if that delay can prejudice me: for I have but too much reason to believe, that this was asked of me, with a view as much to have opportunity and means of trafficking and breaking off the peace, as to favour it. In short, I will conduct myself in this point as I know others would in my situation, and as shall be of advantage to my service, which I will prefer to every other consideration.*

The next day after the date of this letter, viz. on the 2d of *May* 1598, N. S. the treaty of *Vervins* was signed, and put into the hands of the Pope's legate; the *French* Embassadors having requested the *Spanish* to keep it secret, till the ratification should come, and the hostages be delivered ^(b), and procured a cessation of hostilities for two months

^(g) Pag. 270.

^(h) Ibid. p. 274, and 280.

166 *View of the Negotiations between*

for Queen *Elizabeth* and the *United Provinces* (i). The peace was ratified by the *French King* on the 6th of *June* following, N. S. (k).

Mezerai owns (l), that this peace might have been concluded and signed in less than three weeks, if King *Henry IV.* had not affected to persuade the public, that he would not abandon his Allies. But their interests had but little weight with him in comparison of his own impatience to establish himself in the peaceable possession of his throne.

Monfr. *de Villeroy* indeed justifies the conduct of the King his Master, in a letter to Monfr. *de la Broderie*, from *Fontainebleau*, 28th *April* 1607, N. S. in which he writes thus * :

“ If, when we began to give ear to the proposals
“ of the peace with *Spain* concluded at *Vervins*, the
“ late Queen of *England* would have engaged with
“ us strongly and resolutely to drive the *Spaniards*
“ out of the *Low Countries*, as we proposed to her, we
“ would never have laid down our arms : But neither
“ she, nor her ministers, would ever believe, that the *Spaniards*
“ would restore to us the places, which they had
“ taken from us ; without which she was assured
“ that the King would not treat ; and upon this ac-
“ count she concluded, that the war between us and
“ *Spain* would proceed, without her engaging in it
“ further than she had done. Thus she was mistaken ;
“ for she waited too long before she resolved, so that
“ she found us actually agreed, when she sent to us
“ to break off the treaty.”

But whatever glosses the *French Ministers* might then, or afterwards, put upon the King of *France's* management, Queen *Elizabeth* highly resented it ; and, after the return of Sir *Robert Cecil* and Mr.

(i) Ibid. p. 308, 309. (k) Ibid. p. 375. (l) Tom. 7. p. 327, & 331. edit. Paris 1686. * Lettres d'Henry IV de France, & de Messrs. de Villeroy & de Puiseux. Mr. Antoine le Fevre de la Broderie, Tom. 1. p. 175.

Herbert to *England*, frequently expostulated with him on that account by letters, and by the intervention of Mr. *Edmondes*, who still attended him. Her Majesty reminded him particularly of his faith given; and called upon him to pay regard to his own conscience with regard to God, and his reputation among mankind; and told him, "That if in temporal concerns there was such a crime as a sin against the Holy Ghost, it was doubtless Ingratitude. That if he had obtained advantageous conditions from *Spain*, he owed them to the assistance of *England*. That he ought not to abandon an old friend, since a new one was not of equal value. That the sacredness of treaties and solemn compacts were never used as snares, but among bad men. That strength consisted in union; and that the readiest way to weaken and destroy was disuniting (*m*)."

The Queen being therefore thus abandoned by *France*, found it now necessary to concert measures with the States of the *United Provinces*; for which purpose she sent Sir *Francis Vere* to *Holland*, to see, whether the States were inclined to peace; or, if not, what they would contribute to the war; and to press them to reimburse her for the monies, which she had advanced on their account (*n*). The Queen's Council was indeed divided upon the question, Whether it was proper to make peace, or continue the war? to which latter her Majesty herself inclined, and the Earl of *Essex* still declared for it with great zeal, as he had done during the treaty at *Vervins*, for reasons urged in his *Apology* addressed to Mr. *Anthony Bacon*; while the Lord Treasurer *Burgbley* was disposed to pacific measures. But that great and honest Statesman died on the 4th of *August* this year, in the 77th year of his age (*o*). His death was soon followed by that of *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, on

M 4

the

(*m*) Camden, p. 708, 709. (*n*) Id. p. 711. (*o*) Id. p. 711, 723.

the 13th of September, N. S. (p), whose immoderate ambition had been the occasion of infinite bloodshed and confusion throughout *Europe* during his reign, of which, in his last languishing sickness, he sincerely repented, if the *Instructions*, which he left to his son, are genuine, as they are printed in the Duke de *Sully's Memoirs* (q); in which he owns, that after an expence of six hundred millions of ducats, and the destruction of above twenty millions of men, and the depopulation of more provinces, and a greater extent of country, than he then possessed in *Europe*, he had failed in all his great designs, except the acquisition of the little kingdom of *Portugal* (r).

His character, as a Prince of great abilities, is generally allowed by most historians, some of whom consider him as a model of prudence and wisdom, and as one, who perfectly understood the art of governing. But Monfr. *Boisot*, Abbot of *St. Vincent*, in *Besançon*, who was much better able to judge of him from the vast collection of the original papers of Cardinal *Grandvelle*, which had fallen into his hands, and amounted to near an hundred volumes in folio*, had by no means so favourable an opinion of him. He owns indeed†, that *Philip* was master of a good, penetrating and clear judgment, and that he wrote perfectly well: But that he was perhaps too fond of writing for a great King; all his letters being very long; one all in his own hand-writing, in the Abbot's

(p) Thuanus, L. cxx. § 14. & Meteren, L. xx. fol. 441. verso.

(q) *Memoires ou Oeconomies Royales d'Etat, domestiques, politiques, & militaires*, de Henry le Grand, par Maximilian de Bethune Duc de Sully, Tom. 2. p. 212. edit. Rouen 1663.

(r) Ibid. p. 217. * Lettre sur la mort de Mr. l'Abbe Boisot, Continuation des memoires de literature & d'histoire, Tom. 4. part 1. p. 8. edit. Paris 1727. † Lettre de Mr. l'Abbé de Boisot à Mr. Pellisson, contenant un projet de la vie du Cardinal de Grandvelle, qu'il avoit dessein d'écrire, & un état des memoires & papiers de ce Cardinal, qu'il avoit rassemblez. Ib. p. 61. & seqq.

to 1597, and to consult him upon the points then depending between *England* and the *United Provinces*. Mr. Bodley accordingly wrote to his Lordship in July this year the following letter (1).

May it please your good Lordship,

“ Upon the receipt of your yesterday’s letter, I have sought among my papers, wherewith to serve your Lordship’s turn. And for the point of reimbursement, what course was taken for it, as well by me for her Majesty, as by those that were deputed for the General States, I did set it down in writing, by way of abridgment, above twelve months ago, somewhat doubting, that in time it would come again in question. The transcript of it I have sent with other writings to your Lordship. Their offers were, as then, to make an yearly payment of twenty thousand pounds, while the wars should continue: to acquit her Highness of the pay of her auxiliary forces: to give entertainment to four thousand *English* soldiers: to assist her Highness with shipping in all her sea occasions; and when the country shall be brought to peace and tranquillity, to reimburse every year, for four years together, one hundred thousand pounds. So that then I did find their ability so good to bear the burden of the wars, as they made no further suit, but that her Majesty would maintain her cautionary charges.

“ To give your Lordship satisfaction as touching those arguments, on which they grounded their unwillingness not to hearken to a treaty, I have herewith sent unto you the printed answer of the States to the Electors of the Empire, *Anno* 90 (2); the proposition of the Baron of *Rendte*, the Emperor’s Embassador, together with their answer in

(1) MS. State-Papers of *Anthony Bacon*, Esq; (2) *Meteren*, L. xvi. fol. 330.

“ the

prefers him for orders : he retained the couriers, & gave no orders. This shews, that he was very apprehensive of great affairs, or did not understand them, and, being incapable of extricating himself out of them, thought it more convenient to expect what time might do for him. Notwithstanding this, he dazzled the world by his appearance : his silence passed for admirable prudence ; his uncertainties for mature deliberations ; and his silence for some great mystery. Few persons knew him thoroughly, & these did not much esteem him ; but they did not undeceive the rest. And it is certain, says *Abbe B. Jot*, he was *Prince fort mediocre*.

Sir Francis Vere having opened the Queen's proposals to the States General on the 29th of *Jan* 1598, N. S. they resolved to continue the war rather than enter into an uncertain peace ; and accordingly appointed a solemn embassy to *England* consisting of the *Sieur de Warmont*, Admiral, & *Grand Veneur* of *Holland* ; *John Oldenbarnevelt*, Counsellor and Advocate of State ; *John Vanderwercke*, Counsellor and Pensionary of *Middleburg* ; *John de Hottingha*, Counsellor and Deputy to the States General ; and *Andrew Hessels*, first Counsellor of the Council of *Brabant*, established in the United Provinces ; who left the *Hague* on the 18th of *Jan* N. S. and landing at *Margate* the next day, had an audience of the Queen on the 23d, who referred the business to the consideration of her Council ; two of the principal members of which were then absent from it, the Lord Treasurer being disabled by his last sickness, and the Earl of *Essex* in some disagreement with her Majesty (1). But the latter thought proper to apply himself to Mr. (afterwards *Sir Thomas Bodley*), who had been employed as her Majesty's Resident with the States General, from the year 15

(1) *Meteren*, L. xx. fol. 428, 429.

to 1597, and to consult him upon the points then depending between *England* and the *United Provinces*. Mr. *Bedley* accordingly wrote to his Lordship in *July* this year the following letter (1).

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 " serve your Lordship's turn. And for the point of
 " reimbursement, what course was taken for it, as
 " well by me for her Majesty, as by those that were
 " deputed for the General States, I did set it down
 " in writing, by way of abridgment, above twelve
 " months ago, somewhat doubting, that in time it
 " would come again in question. The transcript of
 " it I have sent with other writings to your Lord-
 " ship. Their offers were, as then, to make an
 " yearly payment of twenty thousand pounds, while
 " the wars should continue: to acquit her Highness
 " of the pay of her auxiliary forces: to give enter-
 " tainment to four thousand *English* soldiers: to as-
 " sist her Highness with shipping in all her sea occa-
 " sions; and when the country shall be brought to
 " peace and tranquillity, to reimburse every year,
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 " pounds. So that then I did find their ability so
 " good to bear the burden of the wars, as they made
 " no further suit, but that her Majesty would main-
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 " peror's Embassador, together with their answer in

(1) MS. State-Papers of *Anthony Bacon*, Esq; (2) Meteren,
 L. xvi. fol. 350.

172 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ the year 92 : the piece of a letter, which I mean
 “ to have sent to *Brussels* to the Emperor’s Embassa-
 “ dors, if your Lordship for respects had not thought
 “ it better to suppress it : *Ernestus*’s letter to the
 “ States, persuading an accord, with their answer
 “ unto it in the year 94. In these propositions and
 “ letters is all contained in effect, that could be then
 “ produced for the making or marring of a peace
 “ with the *Spaniard*. First, for peace is alledged
 “ the general desire of the Princes in *Europe*; the
 “ continual unchristian effusion of blood ; the deso-
 “ lation and ruin of the states of both parties, thro’
 “ the unspeakable slaughter of their people and sub-
 “ jects : the intolerable annoyance of all their neigh-
 “ bours countries : the notorious disorders and cala-
 “ mities in war : the grievous impositions of new
 “ taxes and tallages : the weariness of *Spain*, and
 “ their thirst after rest, whereby the States might
 “ stand assured of good performance of conditions :
 “ the uncertain events of exploits in the wars : and
 “ the curse hereafter, that the children must give unto
 “ their parents, for forfeiting, by rebellion, their an-
 “ cient immunities.

“ The States have urged, on the other side, for
 “ continuance of the wars, the cruelty, and pride;
 “ and barbarous carriage of the *Spaniards*, alike
 “ with them, as in the *Indies*, and in all other places :
 “ the examples of the frauds, that they have hereto-
 “ fore used in all their compositions : the treache-
 “ rousness and villainies, which they have practised,
 “ and always used against the person of her High-
 “ ness, and in *France* against the King, and both
 “ their dominions : the violation of their faith at sun-
 “ dry times, in sundry causes, by means of their be-
 “ lief, *quod cum hæreticis non est servanda fides* :
 “ the ambitious humour of the King, in apparently
 “ aspiring to the general monarchy : the public ab-
 “ juration received by the States against him and his
 “ govern-

overnment: the infamous change of the enemy's opinions in matter of religion to serve their own turns, having always held it heretofore for *crimen læsæ majestatis* for any subject to take arms against his natural Sovereign; and yet giving now of late all manner of relief to the rebels in *France*, and likewise in *Ireland*: the present means, that may be made, as soon as peace is concluded, to draw the *low Countries* to a servile estate: the want of sight in their Allies to protect them, if they could, from that intention of the enemy: and, lastly, a most happy and speedy success, which they expect, of all their troubles, if they might be very roundly and soundly supported. In effect, it was ever supposed by the States, that there can be no security of peace with the *Spaniard*, for that her Majesty and they can but deal with him, in confidence upon his single promise; which may prove, in case of breach, much more prejudicial to her Highness and to them, than to the King and his countries. For if her Majesty, or the States, should give the King occasion, he may soon work the means to recover his former strength: but, if otherwise, her Highness should be wronged by the King; she should be so much then the weaker, as now she is the stronger, by reason of those forces, that are afoot among the States, which, in all kind of likelihood, she shall not hereafter be able to reduce, when she would, to their present estate.

" This is so much, as the letter, which your Lordship hath written, doth seem to require; where-with I would intreat, that sith I have not other copies of those pamphlets and letters, it might stand with your good liking to spare them to me again, when your Lordship hath no cause to detain them any longer, And so with humble of-

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174 *View of the Negotiations between*

“fer of my uttermost service, in what occasion ;
“please to employ me, I take my humble leave.

The first paper, which Mr. *Bodley* mentions in his letter, was, in all probability, a manuscript, first published by Mr. *Thomas Hearne*, in his edition of *Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth* (w), and intitled, *An account of an agreement between Queen Elizabeth and the United Provinces, wherein she reported them, and they stood not to their agreement*.

The Embassadors of the States General continued in England till the 20th of August 1598, when they returned to Holland (x), having, on the 16th of that month, concluded a new treaty with the Queen upon the following terms (y):

That the States should give security to Queen Elizabeth for eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, to which all her claims were limited.

That the half of this sum should be discharged by yearly payments of thirty thousand pounds sterling as long as the war should continue: And if, at the end of the war, any thing remained of this half, the annual payments should be but twenty thousand pounds.

That, as to the other half, and the restitution of the places, which were in the Queen's hands, there should be an amicable agreement, when the peace was concluded.

That for the garisons of *Flyssing*, the *Briel*, and other forts, the Queen should furnish eleven hundred and fifty men, to be paid by the States, at the rate of one hundred and seventy pounds sterling a month, besides utensils, and other usual necessaries for soldiers in garison.

(w) Vol. III. p. 923, & seqq. *Oxon.* 1719 in 8vo. (x) *Ibid.* l. 20. fol. 431. verso. (y) Rymer's *Fœd.* Vol. XVI. p. 340, & seqq. See likewise Camden, p. 722. & *Ibid.* fol. 431, 432.

That, for the future, the Queen should be discharged from her engagement to furnish the States with auxiliaries; and that the *English*, who now served, or should hereafter serve, in the *Low Countries*, should be paid by the States, take an oath to them, and obey the orders of their General.

That, by this means, the authority of the *English* treaty, stipulated in the former treaty, would be confirmed; the Queen, nevertheless, reserving a power to put one person into the Council of State.

That if, during the war, the common enemy, or adherents, should set out a fleet to invade *England*, the isles belonging to it, namely, those of *Wight*, *Jersey*, *Guernsey*, or *Jersey*, the States should be obliged to assist her Majesty with a fleet of thirty or forty ships of war; and, in case of an invasion, with ten thousand foot, and five hundred horse. That if her Majesty should equip a fleet of fifty or sixty ships, to act offensively, either in *Spain*, *Portugal*, the *West-Indies*, the States should join her with the same number of ships. And if any *English* forces, ten thousand foot, and two thousand horse, at the most, were sent over into *Flanders*, or *Brabant*, the States should furnish out half the same number of men.

A revolution now happened in the government of the *Low Countries*, the Sovereignty of which was assigned to *Philip II.* of *Spain*, with the consent of the Prince his son, in dower to the Infanta *Isabella*, his daughter, when he married her to the Cardinal Archbishop *Albert*; who, upon this, quitted his Ecclesiastical habit, and the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*; and was solemnly accepted by the Deputies of the Provinces, which were under the obedience of *Spain*, as their sovereign, on the 22d of *August* 1598, N. S. in their Assembly at *Brussels* (a).

(a.) Meteren, L. xx. fol. 432. verso.

176 *View of the Negotiations between*

Mr. *Edmondes* returned to *England* from *Paris* about the time of the conclusion of the peace at *Verdun* but we find him at *Paris* again in *July* 1598; for the 15th of that month, he wrote thence to *Sir Robert Sidney* (b), then in *England*, that it was reported there, that the King of *Spain* was content to do any thing by treaty with her Majesty, or on wise, to facilitate the recovering of the *Low Countries* to the Cardinal and his daughter: "And the
"nion, says he, being here strong, that if her Ma-
"jesty do withdraw her assistance from those of
"the *Low Countries*, they will not be able to sustain
"the King, desiring to take the most plausible
"excuses, in respect of his private ends, hath dis-
"covered no affection to sustain a declining party,
"now thinketh only to assure his present ease,
"advance his bastard-children. And what I
"both himself and his counsellors do make, of
"siring to have her Majesty to enter into the peace
"my former letters do declare. It is therefore
"expected here with great earnestness, to understand
"what you will resolve there touching the peace
"war. But such reports are brought hither, that
"you are so divided in the opinion thereof, as you
"cannot agree to give any verdict; and, by those
"frequent contentions, are much accused to have
"palpably discovered a great weakness, both
"in mind and means, to sustain either resolution. Yet
"have here the reputation to be very schismatical
"and the late discontentment of my Lord of *Essex*
"held to be a great matter; which doth make us
"long much to be advertised of the truth thereof.
He wrote likewise, on the 12th of *September* 1599
from *Paris*, to Secretary *Cecil* (c), that "he had
"learned, that it was projected there between the

(b) Letters of the *Sidney* family, Vol. II. p. 102. (c) *The* *Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, Vol. II. p. 78.

" Legat

“ Legate and the *English*, to send Mr. *Constable* to *Scotland*, to encourage that King to allow the Catholics there a toleration of Religion; and to assure him, that the Catholics in *England* should be at his devotion. And because that King was curious in the knowledge of the controversies of Religion, wherein Mr. *Constable* was held to be very well exercised, that thereby he should seek to practise on the said King’s mind. But it seemeth, adds Mr. Edmondes, his voyage doth not go forward.”

The King of *Scots* was indeed, at this time, much suspected of inclining to Popery; and a copy of a letter, offering obedience to the Pope, signed by that King, was brought from *Rome* by the Master of *Gray*, and shewn to Queen *Elizabeth*; who sent Sir *William Bowes* Ambassador to him, to advertise him, not to build upon the friendship of *Rome* (d); and to represent to him, that no person could do him so much good or harm as herself; that no person had shewn him so much kindness, and expected less from him in return; since she expected only, that he would promote the glory of God, and not be wanting to himself (e). It is affirmed, that the King’s hand was surreptitiously procured to the letter to the Pope by his Secretary Mr. *Elphinston*, afterwards Lord *Balmerino*; for which he was afterwards, in 1609, condemned to be beheaded; but his life was given him (f).

That King was likewise charged by one *Valentine Thomas*, who was in custody for theft, with ill designs against the Queen: but her Majesty had so much tenderness for the King, as never to bring his accuser to trial or punishment. *Camden* (g) repre-

(d) *Spotswood’s History of the Church of Scotland*, L. 6. p. 154, 455. (e) *Camden*, p. 727. (f) *Id.* p. 726.
(g) *Spotswood*, p. 455. & 507—511. (g) P. 726, 727.

sents this *Thomas* to have been hired to blacken that King, or induced to earn his life by a forged accusation. But Secretary *Cecil's* account of this affair, in a letter to Mr. *Edmondes* from the Court at *Richmond*, on the 6th of *November* 1598. is in these words (*b*): “Where you have heard, that there
 “ was one taken long since, that accused the *Scottish*
 “ King of practice; her Majesty deferred his arraignment, and suppresseth the matter, to avoid
 “ offence to the King of *Scots*, who hath very vehemently denied it with detestation.”

The King of *Scots* had wrote to the Queen, on the 30th of *July* 1598, upon this affair, in these terms * :
 “ My suit only is, that, while ye hear further from
 “ me (which shall be with all diligence) ye would
 “ favour me so far, as to delay the fellow's execution, if he be yet alive, to the effect, that,
 “ by some honourable means, wherein I am to
 “ deal with you, my undeserved slander may be
 “ removed from the minds of men.” The Queen, on the other hand, sent instructions to Sir *William Bowes* †, her Ambassador at *Edinburgh*, to assure King *James*, “ that she had stayed *Thomas's* arraignment, and would do so, as long as the King should
 “ give no cause to the contrary.”

The Historian above-cited informs us *, that the Earl of *Mar*, and the Abbot of *Kinlofs*, who were sent by the King of *Scots* in the beginning of *March* 1600. to congratulate the Queen upon the suppression of the Earl of *Essex's* insurrection, expostulated with her Majesty upon *Thomas's* not being brought to punishment; and that they were answered, that he had been spared, merely to prevent the opening of an old wound, since the most groundless calumny

(*b*) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. II. p. 109
 * *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XVI. p. 338. † See his letter to the Queen from *Edinburgh*. 31 *May* 1599. Ibid. p. 375. • P 815. 816

uld find credit among bad men. But Secretary *il*, in his letter to Mr. *Winwood*, of the 9th of *17* 1601 †, says nothing of this, and observes (at *Camden* intirely omits) that one of the principal ends of their journey was, *to clear up those imitations, which had been thrown upon the King for dealing with the Pope, and the King of Spain; and especially for suffering the subjects of Scotland to carry commissions to the rebels in Ireland.* In conclusion indeed, the Embassadors made a request to her Majesty, *to send a greater sum to that portion, which she had long since assigned him by way of gratuity; which the Queen consented to, with a promise to continue it, long as he should make it appear to the world, that he was willing to deserve her extraordinary care and kindness towards him **: And this augmentation was 10 thousand pounds a year ‡. But that King kept a severe memory of the accusation cast upon him by *Leoline Thomas*; and, upon his accession to the crown of *England*, and within a month after his arrival in *London*, in the beginning of *June* 1603. ordered him to be brought to his trial, and executed †.

The *English* Court had all along a watchful eye on the King of *Scots*, and procured an exact intelligence of his motions and intrigues in all parts, particularly in *France*, where one Mr. *Colvill* was employed as a spy, who wrote from *Paris* the following letter to the Earl of *Effex*, on the 10th of *July* 98 (i).

“ The *fisheerie*, which Earl *Botbwell* ‡, since my his-
“ ther-

† *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. I. p. 324.

* *Ibid.*

‡ *Camden*, p. 816. † *Camdeni Annales Jacobi*, p. 2. (i) MS. the Papers of *Anthony Bacon*, Esq;

‡ *Francis Stewart*, Earl of *Botbwell*, was son and heir of Sir *Francis Stewart*, Lord Privy Seal in the reign of Queen *Mary*, and natural son of King *James V.* The Earl had succeeded to that title by the King of *Scots*, and constituted

“ ther-coming, and the attending to try the Bishop
 “ of *Glasgow*’s doing, since he was made Em-
 “ bassador, be causes of my long silence : But now,
 “ all thanks to God, I am at point with the one,
 “ and can write certainty in the other.

“ From *Bretagne* was sent to the King of *Scots*
 “ one called *William Sibboll*, with divers letters,
 “ specially one from the *French* King ; assuring the
 “ King of *Scots*, of renewing the old alliance in all
 “ points, and of assistance, when he shall have ado.
 “ The other were from the Constable, who, above
 “ the rest, protests a great kindness to the King of
 “ *Scots* ; from Duke *de Mayenne*, Duke *de Guise*,
 “ and the Admiral, and from sundry Captains.
 “ But Monfr. *Villeroy* hath only written to the Se-
 “ cretary of State, and that but generally. This
 “ was done from *Bretagne* ; and the Messenger is
 “ not yet returned, but daily looked for.

“ The 18th of the last, another was sent to the
 “ King of *Scots*, called *Beaton* of *Westball*, a cousin
 “ of the Bishop of *Glasgow*. His errand is, to re-
 “ quest the King of *Scots* to haste the Duke of *Le-*
 “ *nox* hither, as the most acceptable, that can be sent
 “ from hence to the *French* King, for confirming of
 “ all matters, and for hearing out of the *French*
 “ King’s own mouth, and that of the rest, more nor
 “ can be written. And the Bishop of *Glasgow* hath
 “ caused to be made, against his coming, an abridg-
 “ ment of all the special service done by *Scotland*
 “ to *France*, and of all the privileges granted to
 “ *Scotland* since the beginning of the alliance, which
 “ they count to of eight hundred years, in * * *
 “ whereof I am presently, and shall send it by my
 “ next.

Lord High-Admiral of *Scotland* ; but, in 1593, being engaged
 in a treasonable design of seizing the King’s person in *Holy-*
rood house, was obliged to leave that Kingdom. *Crawford’s*
Peerage of Scotland, p. 45. edit. *Edinburgh* 1726. fol.

“ So

England, France, *and* Brussels. 181

“ So now the chief practices for the King of
“ *Scots* will come from hence, by means of the Bi-
“ shop of *Glasgow*, and the house of *Guise*; and
“ the *French* King being disposed (whereof assure
“ yourself) to do no more for *England*, than shall
“ be for his own weal. For this cause, after I have
“ made a course to *Brussels* (which, God willing, I
“ shall begin the 12th hereof, being of mind to re-
“ turn back hither before the bearer can return from
“ thence), I purpose still to attend here, to see what
“ the Bishop of *Glasgow* doth; for his ordinary
“ speech is, if he can do any thing, ere he die, against
“ them, that hath bereft him of his Mistress, he will
“ think himself happy. So whereas *Colvill* shall
“ haunt him, and travel in *Brussels*, or in any part
“ of *France*, which be all your mortal enemies, except
“ the Protestants, *Colvill* may seem no friend to
“ *England*, which must not be jealous to you; other-
“ wise it shall be impossible to him to do any ser-
“ vice.

“ Of his Majesty's oath here at the solemnizing
“ of the peace, and articles thereof, I abstain to write;
“ because I know you are, by your own, sufficient-
“ ly informed thereof.

“ I trust the marriage betwixt Madame, and the
“ Marquis *du Pont*, shall take effect; but shall not
“ be solemnized within, but without the Church;
“ and she immediately thereafter goes to her ordi-
“ nary sermons, and he to the mass.

“ The Legate will yet remain two or three months;
“ and so will the General *; albeit within these four
“ days he have received letters of revocation from
“ the Pope: for they think to broach some matter
“ against the Protestants before they part; and there
“ hath been, even now, within the great Cordeliers
“ of this town, a chapter of all the Cordeliers,

* Of the Cordeliers.

182 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ who now doth supply the place of the *Jesuits* for
 “ that same effect. But his Majesty is so desirous of
 “ peace, that which of the two parties shall make
 “ the first *mutin*, shall be severely punished. Yet
 “ apparently the fire, that is betwixt the two parties,
 “ shall not long lie smothered.

“ Of Earl *Botwell* I have sustained great boist ;
 “ yet, in the end, he was made to understand all,
 “ that he could object against me, either to be false
 “ or frivolous. So very privily we were drawn to
 “ speak alone ; and, after he had attested great sin-
 “ cerity to *England*, promising to do any service,
 “ when your Majesty would command him, we did
 “ fully accord.

“ He goes presently with the Duke of *Arscot* to
 “ *Brussels*, where he promises (being kindly used)
 “ to make you the intelligence he can ; and to go,
 “ if her Majesty think fit, to *Spain* for the same ef-
 “ fect. He is poor ; and therefore what is thought
 “ meet herein, I would speedily know, desiring the
 “ matter may be reserved for the Earl of *Essex*’s
 “ own private knowledge.

“ He complains much, that he is not respected
 “ there as his service hath merited ; who, albeit he be
 “ but too earnest for the King of *Scots*, yet he ever is
 “ grounded upon the good causes of Religion, and
 “ the amity ; and by him ever we may know all
 “ that the Bishop of *Glasgow* can do. He hath
 “ with him a discreet and well-affected person, called
 “ *James Colvill*. The one I do honour as my Lord
 “ and Chief ; the other I love as my son. Yet I be-
 “ seech your Lordship, that neither of them may
 “ know what I write.

“ The Eternal Lord preserve her Majesty, your
 “ Lordship, and all *England*.”

Paris, 10th of *July*,
St. novo 98.

C.

“ Please

- “ Please you to eke to our cypher these names in-
 “ closed.
 “ It is true, that the King here is wearied of *Botbwell*;
 “ yet he doth pretend to desire *Botbwell* absent
 “ himself, for satisfying the King of *Scots*.”

Secretary *Cecil*, on the 3d of *October* 1598, wrote to Mr. *Edmondes* (*k*), that the Queen had sent him, with her own hand, a full answer to his last letter by *Symonds*, wherein her Majesty was well pleased with his carriage of all things: And that, upon the coming over of an Embassador from *France*, her Majesty would send another; “ at which time, says he, by your revocation, that will befall you, which you have desired. In *England* there is nothing since I wrote last unto you, saving this, that such small misunderstanding, as was between her Majesty and the Earl of *Essex*, is now clear removed, and all very well settled again.”

On the 6th of *November* Secretary *Cecil* wrote again to Mr. *Edmondes* from the Court at *Richmond*, soon after the arrival of Monsr. *de Boissise*, the *French* Embassador: “ I have been longer silent, says he (*l*), than I meant, in attending what great or new matter their new Embassador would propound. He hath had a public audience in the Chamber of Presence, and another private in her Majesty's Drawing-chamber. He carrieth himself formally and gravely, to the Queen's good liking.” He then informs Mr. *Edmondes*, that her Majesty had resolved to send Mr. *Henry Neville*, a Gentleman well-languaged, and of a noble house, as her Embassador to *France*; and that he was ordered to prepare for his journey, and would be there within six weeks at the farthest. This Gen-

(*k*) Sir Tho. *Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, Vol. II. p. 91
 (*l*) Ibid. p. 109.

Gentleman, who was soon after knighted by her Majesty, was descended of the family of the *Nevilles*, Barons of *Abergavenny*, and son of Sir *Henry Neville*,¹ of *Billingbere* in the county of *Berks*, Knt. Gentleman of the Privy-chamber to King *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* by *Elizabeth*, only daughter and heir of Sir *John Gresham*, Knight (m).

Secretary *Cecil*, in the same letter, acquaints Mr. *Edmondes*, that his last letter by *Paynter* satisfied the Queen very well, *as all others do*, says he, *in every thing committed to your charge*. He takes notice likewise, that it was resolved, that a Deputy should be sent over to *Ireland*, “to which, adds he, my Lord *Mountjoy* is named: But to you, in secret, I speak it, not as a Secretary, but your friend, that I think the Earl of *Essex* shall go Lieutenant of the Kingdom, and with a royal power to make an end of the war.” He then observes, that daily practices were discovered against the Queen’s person; but that none ever went so near, as that, of which the Earl of *Essex* and himself had the happiness to be the Inquisitors, *viz.* the design of *Edward Squire*, and Father *Walpole* a Jesuit, to poison the Queen; of which the Secretary gives this account: That *Squire* having been persuaded by *Walpole* to engage in that design, he offered to go with the Earl of *Essex* to sea, and ingratiated himself with his Lordship; and, by that means, being conversant in the Court, he took the opportunity to poison the pomel of the Queen’s saddle. But that failing of success, he went to sea with the Earl, whom he attempted likewise to poison, in order to defeat his voyage to the *Azores*; but miscarried in the attempt. Upon his return he became a purveyor of the Stables. After this one *Stanley* came over from *Spain* to mur-

(m) *Ward’s Lives of the Professors of Gresham College*, p. 5, 6. and Appendix, p. 12, 13.

der the Queen, being employed, for that purpose, by the *Spanish* Secretary, and *Christophoro Merco*; and, to get himself credit, was directed to accuse *Squire*, whom the *Spanish* Ministers now hated, because they had heard nothing of the execution of his promise. *Stanley* therefore accused *Squire* to the Earl of *Essex*, and Sir *Robert Cecil*; but, being suspected himself, was seized; as *Squire* likewise was; the latter of whom confessed his whole design, and the former owned his vow to kill the Queen with a pistol. *Camden* (n) does not mention the name of *Stanley*, who was sent from *Spain* to accuse *Squire*, nor *Stanley*'s confession of his own intention to murder the Queen; but informs us, that *Squire*, upon his tryal, and at his execution, declared, that, though he had been suborned by *Walpole*, and others, to attempt her Majesty's life, he had never resolved to execute so atrocious a crime. On the other hand, *Walpole*, or some other person, in his defence, published a book, denying, in a most solemn manner, every thing, which *Squire* had confessed. But such disavowals were of little weight, when it was notorious, as the historian remarks (o), that many of the *Roman* Catholics, both of Clergy and Laity, maintained this opinion, that the cutting off excommunicated Princes was only plucking up the tares out of the Lord's field.

Patrick Gray, Master of *Gray*, who had been sent, by the King of *Scots*, with Sir *Robert Melvil*, to *England*, in 1586. to implore mercy for the Queen his mother after her condemnation, but was said to have secretly advised Queen *Elizabeth* to proceed to her execution, alleging, *Mortua non mordet* (p); and on that, and other accounts, was banished *Scotland*, with a prohibition to go either to *England* or *Ire-*

(n) P. 725, 726. (o) Ibid. p. 726. (p) Idem, p. 485.
and *Spotswood*, p. 363.

186 *View of the Negotiations between*

land (q), being now at *Paris*, he offered, by means of Mr. *Edmondes*, his service to her Majesty, and especially to procure, that she should be advertised of all complots against her, either in *Spain*, or the *Low Countries*. Mr. *Edmondes* inclosed a paper of the Master to this purpose in his letter to Secretary *Cecil*, of the 18th of *November* 1598 (r); to which her Majesty returned the following answer to Mr. *Edmondes* (s):

“ ELIZABETH R.

“ Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.
 “ We have seen your letter to our Secretary, and
 “ the inclosed from the Master of *Gray*, which bring-
 “ eth to us, at one instant, two strange wonders:
 “ First, that he is resuscitated, whom we held, by
 “ this time, intombed. Secondly, that, being all
 “ this while unburied, he could have passed over so
 “ many years in silence. But seeing we do find, that
 “ his retired affection towards us returns to his for-
 “ mer place of confidence, you may do well to as-
 “ sure him hereby, that whatsoever he shall do for
 “ our service in any thing, shall be performed to
 “ those, whom he knows well to have ever resolved
 “ of this position, *Si ingratum dixeris, omnia dixeris*.
 “ For the other parts of his motion, that we would
 “ write some letter to his friend, for whom he un-
 “ dertaketh, it is a course, that we have never used
 “ to any but such, whose merit hath first purchased
 “ trust and favour. Let him therefore know this,
 “ that as we do thank both him and the other (who-
 “ soever he be) for his good disposition; so when any
 “ effect shall follow of his honest purposes, our re-
 “ quital (in what is fit for a Prince) shall not be long
 “ behind. Some other things we have imparted to

(q) *Spotswood*, *ibid.*
 Papers, Vol. II. p. 133.

(r) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-
 (s) *Ibid.* p. 145.

“ our

“ our Secretary, wherein you may believe him.
 “ From our Palace of *Westminster*, the 4th of *December* 1598.”

Secretary *Cecil* wrote the same day the following letter to Mr. *Edmondes* (1):

“ I pray you, Sir, return to the Master of *Gray*
 “ from me many thanks, that, out of his former
 “ knowledge of my worthy father, he is the more
 “ apt to make his addressees by me, which shall be
 “ imparted to her Majesty. True it is, that I have
 “ heard my father much commend his discretion and
 “ affection, to the conservation of the mutual amity
 “ between the two Princes; though he found it
 “ rare in many of that nation, with whom he had
 “ dealings, they being often carried too much with
 “ private respects. But, seeing therefore by himself
 “ I have been named to the Queen, as the fittest
 “ instrument between her and him to receive his ad-
 “ vices; and seeing her Majesty also desireth it may
 “ be so, there remaineth for me no more to do, than
 “ by dealing secretly and faithfully with him, to
 “ deal dutifully with mine own Sovereign, whose
 “ trust if either he or I should deceive, I assure
 “ you, it is very contrary to her expectation, in
 “ him, as from a Gentleman of honour, affected to
 “ her service, and a freeman; and in me, as one of
 “ her subjects and vassals. I pray you acquaint him
 “ herewithal, and assure him, that although her Ma-
 “ jesty doth think it now untimely to declare herself,
 “ by writing any thing to him, for whom he pro-
 “ miseth; yet may the Master of *Gray* be well as-
 “ sured, that the effect of his offer shall be no sooner
 “ manifested, but that her Majesty will unburden
 “ her own mind by thankful recognition.”

(1) Ibid. p. 153.

Mr. *Edmondes*, on the 12th of that month, 1
 Sir *Robert Sidney*, from *Paris*, an account of the State
 of affairs in *France* (*u*), in which he observes, that
 the King's sister was still kept languishing about
 marriage with the Prince of *Lorrain*; the Pope
 refusing obstinately to grant the dispensations, which
 were to be obtained from him for the proximity
 kindred with the Prince, fearing, that she would reviv
 the heresy of her Religion in *Lorrain*, to which
 people of that country were, for the most part
 addicted. " Yet the Prince is looked for here vi
 " shortly, making demonstration, that he will, n
 " withstanding, proceed in the marriage, which w
 " to neglect much the Pope's authority. T
 " King's second son (*w*) hath been late christen
 " with much solemnity, at *St. Germain*; the Co
 " *Soissons* being his Godfather, and Madam d'
 " *goulesme* his Godmother. He is named *Alexand*
 " and the King hath given him the Earldom
 " *Foix*. The King sent one of late to deal with
 " Queen of *Navarre* about the dissolution of th
 " marriage, and to press her, to the end to give h
 " the means to legitimate his children, to confes
 " nullity of marriage, of being forced to conf
 " thereunto against her will, by her mother a
 " brother; and that she never had company w
 " the King. She is content to yield to a divorce
 " confession of sterility; but she refuseth to ackno
 " ledge to have lived otherwise with him than as
 " wife; for that it may be many ways prejudicial
 " her to lose that title and dignity. The King ha
 " of late, received very probable suspicions, to thi
 " that the Duke of *Savoy* doth dispose himself
 " dispute the Marquisate of *Saluces*, rather by for
 " than by treaty; which makes him also to prep

(*u*) Letters of the *Sidney* family, Vol. II. p. 104. (*w*)
 natural son by *Gabrielle d'Étrées*, Duchess of *Beaufort*.

to have his reason of the said Duke ; and he doth give it out, that he will draw down to *Lyons* in the Spring. But, it is thought, the Pope will strongly interpose himself to compound that difference, to keep the fire from kindling so near him. The late arrests, which the young King of *Spain* hath made of the ships of the *Low Countries*, and the demonstration, which he maketh of affection to men of war, breedeth here a strong opinion, that he meaneth to honour his first beginning with some great enterprize ; and, being so, it followeth, that it is against us. It is said, that the Marquis of *Denia*, the Master of his horse, is a very special favourite with him ; and the Counsellors of the old King little used. The Parliament and Clergy do still strongly dispute against the edict (x) for those of the Religion ; and it is doubted, that, to give them contentment, it will receive some qualification."

Sir *Henry Neville* being now ready to go Ambassador to *France*, Secretary *Cecil*, on the 19th of *April* 1599. sent by him a letter to Mr. *Edmondes*, to give him notice, that the Queen would have him stay there a month after Sir *Henry's* arrival (y), who came to *Paris* on the 8th of *May* (z) ; and on the 6th of *June* following, when Mr. *Edmondes* was to return to *England*, wrote to the Queen in his favour (a) : " I should, *says he*, be very ungrateful, if I should not yield a true testimony unto this Gentleman, Mr. *Edmondes*, and acknowledge the great light I have received by his friendly, and real communicating with me his knowledge of the affairs of this State, which I assure your Majesty to be very exquisite, and his judgment

(x) Of *Nantes*, published in *April* 1598.
Winwood's Memorials, Vol. I. p. 16.

(y) Sir *Ralph*
(z) *Ibid.* p. 20.

(a) *Ibid.* p. 44.

190 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ and *sufficiency* such withal, as I hold him to have
“ been a *worthy Minister* of your Majesty’s highness
“ and to be very able to do you good service, whosoever
“ soever it shall be your gracious pleasure to make
“ further use of him. ”

In the beginning of *August* this year, *England* was
under a great alarm of an invasion from *Spain*; upon
which account most part of the forces in the coun-
try were ordered to make their rendezvous within
six miles of *London*; and many of the Lords were
commanded to provide immediately an hundred
horse, each well-furnished, to guard the Queen; and
a bridge was directed to be made over the *Thames* at
Black Wall, with six thousand men from *London*
to secure it (*b*). But, amidst these alarms, *Deputy*
arrived in *England* from Cardinal *Albert*, to treat of
peace; which was not only generally desired by the
nation, which was unable to support the charges of
war, but likewise by the principal persons in the ad-
ministration of affairs (*c*); for the Earl of *Essex*, who
was thought most averse to pacific counsels, was then
absent in *Ireland*, whence he returned on the 25th
of *September* following without the Queen’s leave,
who accordingly ordered him to be confined. The ap-
prehensions from the *Spaniards* being thus
vanished, the consideration of peace was resumed,
and, in the beginning of *September*, was thought
to be so far advanced, that Commissioners were im-
mediately to be chosen on both sides, and the place
for their meeting to be in *France* (*e*). The *Deputy*

(*b*) Mr. Rowland *W’hyte*’s letters to Sir Robert *Sidney*, of the 4th, 5th, 9th, 11th, 12th, 15th, and 18th of *August* 1599. Printed among the letters of the *Sidney* family, Vol. II. p. 112—

(*c*) Mr. R. *W’hyte*’s letter of the 9th of *August* 1599. *Ibid.* p. 112—

(*d*) Mr. R. *W’hyte*’s letters of the 29th and 30th of *September*, 2d, 3d, 4th, and 6th of *October*, 1599. *Ibid.* p. 127—

(*e*) Mr. R. *W’hyte*’s letter of the 8th of *September* 1599. *Ibid.* p. 120.

re-mentioned from *Flanders* were *Charles Lan-*
; and *Jerom Coemans*, who were sent into *Eng-*
 to treat of peace by the Archduke *Andrew*, Go-
 nor of the *Low Countries* in the absence of his bro-
 : *Albert*, who was gone into *Spain* to marry the
Infanta. And the Queen shewed no disinclination
 in agreement, if a proper authority was given by
 King of *Spain* for that purpose, and if the States
 the *United Provinces* were included; who, upon
 mention of peace, began to entertain jealousies
 her Majesty (*f*). But, to assure them of her sin-
 city, she acquainted them by Monfr. *Caron*, their
 at in *England*, and Mr. *Gilpin*, her Resident at
 : *Hague*, that the only answer, which she had given
 the Archduke's Deputies, was, that, after it should
 pear substantially, that a peace was desired by the
 ng of *Spain* and Archduke, her Majesty would
 consider of it, and certify her Confederates of
 , and, with their advice and liking, agree to that,
 which should stand with her honour and safety (*g*).

The Archduke *Albert*, soon after his arrival at
Brussels with the *Infanta*, which was on the 5th of *Sep-*
tember, *N. S.* (*b*), had written a letter to the Queen (*i*),
 informing her of his and the *Infanta's* desire of peace
 with their neighbours; and of renewing the antient
 leagues and treaties of the house of *Burgundy* with
 her Majesty; for which purpose they had received
 full power from the King of *Spain*. In answer to
 which, the Queen wrote a letter, on the 30th of *Octo-*
ber, *N. S.* acquainting him, that she had always de-
 sired and sought such a peace, as might procure some
 advantage and repose to *Christendom*; and that she
 was now ready to hearken to it, seeing they were
 authorized by the King of *Spain*: But that her ho-

(*f*) *Cameron*, p. 746. (g) Letter of *George Gilpin*, Esq; to
 the *Rulers of the*, from the *Orig.* 22 Sept. 1599. printed among
 the letters of the *Stuart* family, Vol. II. p. 120. (b) *Niete-*
mer, I. fol. 255 verso. (i) *Id.* fol. 407. verso.

nour obliged her to do nothing, in that point, without first advertising the States General, and her resolution upon it. That therefore she immediately send a person to the States, to know whether they would treat in conjunction with her or whether she must do it alone; of which she would advertise the Archduke in time. Accordingly her Majesty sent over Monsr. *Caron* to the States General, to procure their assent to a treaty of peace who departed for *Holland* about the 16th of October (k), and made his report to them of her Majesty's pleasure; and soon after Mr. *Gilpin* had audience of them upon the same subject; to which they returned for answer, that they would consist of all, and resolve, *prout poterunt*; "which," "he (l), I look not for so soon; and, in my opinion," "will be, to send over some, wishing it were done already. The sum is to tell you what passed and how her Majesty hath answered the Archduke's letter: Also to know, what they will require or have, or wish to be done for them. His Excellency [Prince *Maurice*] is written for, to come hither; and then will be proceeded further. The same Gentleman, in his letter of the 2d of November (m), observes, that, by his private conference with the members of the States General, he perceived, "in a manner generally in them all, a distaste of the course her Majesty intends to take; and that not so much in respect of the towns cautionary as of the trade, which their people are like to lose, and consequently the country; and that it is doubted the soldiers, in their service, will be withdrawn in time; and so the countenance and authority of her Majesty, which strengthened

(k) Letter of R. Whyte, Esq; to Sir Robert Sidney, *London* 1 Oct. 1599. Letters of the Sidney family, p. 133. (l) Letter to Sir R. Sidney, *Hague*, 28 Oct. 1599. Ibid. p. 136. (m) Ibid. p. 138.

“ and maintained them, being taken away, cannot
 “ choose but discourage the well-affected, and im-
 “ bolden the others, that watched for such a time. . .
 “ The States consult, and deliberate daily, but can-
 “ not resolve; neither doth his Excellency make
 “ any haste hither; so as Monfr. *Caron* is yesterday
 “ gone towards him, with intent to return presently;
 “ and then, I hear, you are like to have him in your
 “ parts, where he seems to be designed. And, to
 “ tell your Lordship my feeling, I like nothing at
 “ all, neither the humours nor course there held,
 “ shewing now rather a backwardness than slowness
 “ in them, to concur with other provinces, as in
 “ times past.” Monfr. *Caron* soon after returned
 to *England* (n); as Sir *Francis Vere* did to *Holland*,
 where, in the latter end of *November*, he acquainted
 the States General, that, with regard to the treaty
 of peace, nothing more was done, than had been
 certified to them by Monfr. *Caron*; and that
 her Majesty would not deal in any sort, but as
 should stand with her honour, and their security (o).
 The States General were then impatient in expecta-
 tion of some answer from Monfr. *Caron*, that they
 might resolve further what to say to her Majesty;
 “ which, I think, says Mr. *Gilpin* (p), will be to
 “ persevere in their former resolution of refusal.”
 They had received no answer from Monfr. *Caron* on
 the 13th of *December*; which gave them great
 alarm on account of the strong reports, which they
 received from the enemy’s quarters, that there would
 be an agreement between her Majesty, and the King
 of *Spain*, and the Archduke, “ Yet, howsoever
 “ the world go, adds Mr. *Gilpin* (q), I do not see
 “ the least appearance, that they will yield to any

(n) Mr. *Gilpin*’s letter to Sir *R. Sidney* from the *Hague*, Nov. 22.
 1599. Ibid. p. 142. (o) Mr. *Gilpin*’s letter of the 30th of
November 1599. Ibid. p. 145. (p) Ibid. (q) Letter to Sir *R.*
Sidney from the *Hague*, 13 *December* 1599. Ibid. p. 150.

“parley, but maintain their cause, the best
 “can, wishing and praying continually, that it
 “please God so to dispose of things, that he
 “Majesty would continue the course held hithert
 “them against the *Spaniards*.”

The States General having thus, by Monfr.
 absolutely refused to treat; and the Queen
 sent over word to the Archduke upon that;
 both when, and in what fort, she would treat
 Majesty, about the 26th of *December* 1591.
 Mr. *Edmondes* to the Archduke with a letter
 dit, and these instructions (r); that he should
 to the Archduke the refusal of the States: that
 Majesty was sorry for it, but could not
 them: that now her Majesty was resolved to
 Commissioners for herself to treat; and therefor
 to propound to the Archduke, whether Comm
 ers should not be sent to *England* unto her M
 seeing he was a third person in the treaty, an
 der-qualified to her as Queen of *England*; an
 it was also once so offered. Secondly, that
 Majesty shall treat in *France* as a neutral, sh
 sue and trouble the *French* King for a place;
 besides consumption of time, will be subject to
 circumstances. Upon this point the Queen o
 Mr. *Edmondes* very formally to insist: but h
 provisional secret instructions not to come aw
 the Archduke should utterly dislike it; but
 to yield to treat in *France*; and then imm
 after his dispatch at *Brussels*, to repair to Sir
Neville at *Paris*, and so to the King, to who
 had letters of credit, and to demand *Boulogne*
 place nearest the sea-coast of *England*. But h
 Majesty wished, that Mr. *Edmondes* might not, b
 Archduke's refusal to send Commissioners to *En*

(r) Letter of Secretary *Cecil*, to Sir *Henry Neville*, 28th
 Decr 1599. *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. 1. p. 139.

England, France, and Bruffels. 195

obliged to go to the *French* King for a place of
 living in *France*, because she was unwilling, that he
 should send Commissioners.

The Archduke, upon Mr. *Edmondes's* arrival,
 sent his own coach for him to *Bruffels*, and treated
 him with great respect (s); but not being willing to
 send Commissioners to *England*, Mr. *Edmondes* went
 to *Paris* (t), where having obtained of the King
 a *logne* for the meeting of them, he returned to
England, and arrived at court on *Sunday* morning,
February 17 (v). The next day the Audien-
 tier *reynen*, who was sent over by the Archduke,
 stood at the tower of *London*, where he was met by
 Mr. *Edmondes* and the lieutenant of the tower, with

Lord Treasurer's and Secretary *Cecil's* coaches,
 and conducted to Alderman *Baning's* house at Dow-
 n (w); and, on the 23d of *February*, had au-
 dience of her Majesty, being attended to court by
 Mr. *Edmondes* (x); and, on the 25th, had a con-
 ference with the Lords of the Council, at the Lord
 Treasurer's, upon the intended peace (y); which
 was opposed with all possible zeal by *Monfr. Caron*,
 who endeavoured to make the Queen and her Mini-
 sters sensible of the danger of abandoning the States (z).
reynen acknowledged, that he had not full autho-
 rity to conclude any thing, or to promise what should
 be accorded upon a treaty; but only, by way of dis-
 cretary, to declare what might be demanded by the
members, and to hear what her Majesty would
 command. He proposed in particular, that her Ma-
 jesty should abandon the States, and deliver up the

a) Mr. R. Whyte's letter of the 26th of *January* 1599, print-
 among letters of the *Sidney* family, vol. 2. p. 165. (t) Mr.

Whyte's letters of the 9th and 14th of *February*, *ibid.* p. 165,
 b) Mr. R. Whyte's letter of the 21st of *February*,
 l. p. 169. (v) *Ibid.* (x) Mr. R. Whyte's letter of

24th of *February* 1699, *ibid.* p. 170. (y) *Ibid.* p. 172.
ibid. p. 172, 173.

196 *View of the Negotiations between*

cautionary towns of *Flushing* and *Brill* ; but he answered, that she was resolved, though she good conditions offered to go on with the treaty not to forsake the States ; and was likewise determined to keep those towns still in her own hands. *Verreyken* then desired to know, how far the bounds and limits of *Flushing* would stretch unto. But the Lords of the Council finding, that all other speech was to no purpose with a man, who had no power, he was desired to return to the Archduke, and come back again with some others joined with him with authority to proceed ; or, if he chose to go in *England*, to send over for ample instructions. He made likewise some other propositions, which being absolutely refused, he took his leave of the Queen on the 9th of *March* (b) ; and two days after went to *Dover*, where he embarked with *Mr. mondes*, who was sent to the Archduke (c), with instructions, dated at *Richmond* the 11th of *March* 1599, to this purpose (d) : 1. That the Archduke had proposed to renew the ancient leagues, which had been between *England* and *Burgundy* ; which was refused, because contrary to the leagues, in which the Queen was engaged, and might embark her again those of the same religion. 2. That the Archduke had required, that the Queen would prohibit trade with *Holland* and *Zealand*, and remove it from the Archduke's dominions : to which it was answered, that this would be tying herself to do, what no other Prince, neither *France*, *Scotland*, nor *Imperium*, nor other free state, were bound to : and that this could not be granted, in respect of the commodity and advantages of our State, and convenience of the havens in those parts. 3. He demanded

(a) *Mr. Whyte's* letter of the 2d of *March* 1599, *ibid.* p.

(b) *Ibid.* p. 177.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 178, 179.

(d)

Edmunds's MS. State-Papers, vol. 2. p. 165.

boring the cautionary towns : To which it was an-
 swered, that the considerations of honour, reason,
 and the interest of greater debts, were sufficient mo-
 tives, that this could not be consented to. Lastly,
 it was proposed, that the fugitives on both sides ought
 to be restored to their means : to which it was an-
 swered, that there were none here of their nation,
 and such, as were only of the quality of merchants and
 sailors ; but that they had divers, under whom the
 English fugitives had served. “ These have been the
 greatest points, which he hath propounded ; and
 from these questions, and our answers, your pre-
 sent negotiations being derived, you may also say,
 that those things are of such a nature, as must
 needs overthrow both our ends, if those impedi-
 ments be not removed ;—all which things you may
 plainly affirm we cannot grant, and so lay before
 him the conditions before-recited. And therefore
 you shall desire (though all things else, whereof
 there are many very considerable, may be referred
 to the meeting of the Commissioners), that in
 these main points he will open himself to you in
 such sort, as we may find not cause to believe,
 that we shall begin a work, whereof so great ex-
 pectation is stirred, and from which so little suc-
 cess may be derived, as namely, the making a
 league offensive and defensive, the rendition of
 the cautionary towns, and leaving all commerce
 and trade with the *Low Countries*.—If they shall
 be denied, then you may say you are sorry, be-
 cause you know it will give us cause to suspect that
 bill, which hath heretofore drawn us into disad-
 vantage, which is this, that he is so clogged in
 his treaty with *Spain*, as he cannot absolutely speak
 of these cases ; and therefore that it will much
 weaken our opinion of a good conclusion. — Only
 one thing there is, wherein we require you to ex-
 press, how sensible we must be, if we may not see

198 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ good assurance, that the violence of the inquisition
 “ (from the moderation whereof the King of Spain
 “ formerly disclaimed), by which pretext our
 “ subjects have been most barbarously used, should
 “ now again be surely provided for, to prevent
 “ peril of our people. And yet for all things
 “ considerable herein, you shall let him know, that
 “ meaning is not, in that point, to procure
 “ any such liberty, as may protect them, if
 “ public offence be offered by them, but
 “ they may not be searched or enquired upon, as
 “ they give just occasion; wherein it were extremely
 “ if the folly of one person should be drawn in judgment
 “ against others, that are innocent; a liberty
 “ ty, which we will likewise grant unto such of
 “ subjects, as shall live here.——To conclude
 “ you shall use all means to assure them, that
 “ sending is by necessity rising from their unreasonable
 “ propositions by this gentleman, whose conduct
 “ over with so unexpected resolutions hath given
 “ us some cause of doubtfulness, what must be
 “ issue of the treaty, which you think can now
 “ be so much advanced, as when that court
 “ taken, which may make it successful, and
 “ illusory.”

Mr. *Edmondès* had audience of the Archduke
 the 22d of *March* (e); who, though he seemed
 strongly to insist upon the propositions, which
 Majesty had refused, yet, in conclusion, desiring
 meeting, in a letter to her Majesty dated the 6th
April (f), representing, that seeing he desired
 meet, it ought to be imagined, that he had a
 purpose to accommodate; for, if he had not, it might
 well be judged, that it behoved them to be as sensible
 of a vain conference, as her Majesty (g).

(e) Ibid. p. 373. (f) Ibid. p. 391. (g) See
Cecil's letter to Sir Henry Neville, 19th April 1600. *Windsor*
Memorials, vol. 1. p. 171.

Mr. *Edmondes* returned to *England* on the 9th of *April* 1600, and was received by her Majesty with great favour, and highly commended for his sufficiency in his negotiation (*b*); and soon after was appointed one of the Commissioners for the treaty of *Boulogne*, together with Sir *Henry Neville*, the Queen's Ambassador in *France*, Mr. *John Herbert*, her Majesty's second Secretary *, and Mr. *Robert Beale*, Secretary to the Council in the North; their commission being dated the 10th of *May* 1600 (*i*). The two last, with Mr. *Edmondes*, left *London* on the 12th of that month (*k*); and arrived at *Boulogne* on the 16th, as Sir *Henry Neville* did the same day from *Paris* (*l*). The Commissioners for *Spain* were Don *Baltasar de Zuniga y Fonseca*, the King of *Spain*'s Ambassador with the Archduke; and Don *Ferdinando Carillo*, Licentiate of the order of *St. James*, and the King's Counsellor in *Castille*: and those for the Archduke were the President *Richardot*, and the Audiencier *Verreyken* (*m*). But after the Commissioners had been above three months upon the place, they parted without ever assembling, by reason of a dispute of precedency between *England* and *Spain*. After great contests on this subject, Queen *Elizabeth* at last consented to an equality; but the *Spaniard* would not quit his pretensions; which put an end to all intercourse between the Commissioners, who departed from *Boulogne* on the 28th of *July* 1600 (*n*).

(*b*) Mr. *Whyte*'s letter to Sir *R. Sidney*, the 12th of *April* 1600. Letters of the *Sidney* family, vol. 2. p. 186.

* He was afterwards knighted by King *James I.* and died in *July* 1617. *Camdeni annales regis Jacobi*, p. 26.

(*i*) *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. 1. p. 186, 187. (*k*) Mr. *Whyte*'s letter of the 12th of *April* 1600, ubi supra, p. 194.

(*l*) *Winwood's Memorials*, vol. 1. p. 188. (*m*) Ibid. p. 192.

(*n*) Ibid. p. 192,—224.

Mr. *Edmondes*, at his return to *England*, continued to execute his office of Secretary to her Majesty for the *French* tongue, and was afterwards appointed one of the Clerks of the Council; and, in *May* or *June* 1601, he and Mr. *Beale* held a correspondence by letters with the President *Richardot*; in which it appears, that the King of *Spain* and the Archduke were still desirous of a peace with *England* (o). And, in the end of *June* that year, he was sent to the *French* King, to complain of the many acts of injustice committed by his subjects against the *English* merchants; to which effect he carried a letter from the Queen to that King, dated the 25th of *June* (p); and at the same time had orders to assure Mr. *Ralph Winwood*, who was Agent for her Majesty after the return of Sir *Henry Nevill* whose Secretary he had been, "that her Majesty made a very good acceptance of all his services both for his diligence and discretion, and was very well satisfied of all his proceedings (q)." Mr. *Edmondes*'s employment into *France* was well received there, as a demonstration of her Majesty's desire to preserve her amity with that Kingdom; at the same time that her resolution ever to maintain her honours and not to abandon her subjects to the intended indignities of the *French*, brought the latter to a true understanding of themselves, and to the acknowledgment of those good offices received from her, which without some admonition, they would have been contented to forget (r).

He soon after returned to *England*, but went back again to *France*, with a letter from the Queen to the *French* King, dated the 22d of *August* 1601;

(o) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, vol. 2. p. 467, seqq. (p) Ibid. p. 499. (q) Secretary *Cecil*'s letter to Mr. *Edmondes*, the 29th of *June* 1601, *ibid.* vol. 1. (r) Mr. *Winwood*'s letter to Secretary *Cecil*, from *Paris*, the 15th of *July* 1601, O. S. Memorials, vol. 1. p. 340.

in which she took notice, that she had been informed, by the report of Mr. *Edmondes*, of that King's good disposition to give her satisfaction with respect to her subjects, who traded into *France*, in order that they might receive better treatment in their traffick (*s*). The King was then at *Calais*, whether he went about the 20th of *August*; and thither Mr. *Edmondes* came to him, and appears to have proposed to him some measures, both for the relief of *Ostend*, then besieged by the *Spaniards*, and for an offensive alliance against *Spain* (*t*). After his return to *England*, he was, in conjunction with the Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord Admiral, *Secretary Cecil*, Sir *John Fortescue*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir *John Popham*, Lord chief Justice of the Common Pleas, *John Herbert*, Esq; second Secretary of State, *Julius Cæsar*, LL.D. Master of the Requests, Sir *Thomas Parry*, and *Daniel Dun*, LL.D. Dean of the Arches, appointed Commissioner for settling with the two *French* Embassadors, *de Boissise* and *Beaumont*, the depredations between *England* and *France*, and preventing them for the future (*v*).

The Courts of *Spain* and *Brussels* seemed still extremely desirous of a peace with *England*, in consequence of which the President *Richardot*, on the 2d of *March* 1601-2, wrote to *Portado* (*w*), who was sent thither, .1. That, with regard to religion, nothing should be desired, that might give distaste to the Kingdom, nor cause any prejudice to the state or service of the Queen. 2. That with regard to the places, which the Queen held in *Zealand*, and her league with *Holland*, there should be such means

(*s*) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, vol. 2. p. 539.
 (*t*) *Winwood*'s Memorials, p. 346, and 348, and Note on p. 346.
 & *Memoires ou Oeconomies Royales de Henry le Grand, par le Duc de Sully, Partie II. Tome III. p. 36, & seqq.* (*v*) *Winwood*, p. 394. (*w*) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, vol. 2. p. 599.

found to give her Majesty contentment, as shou provide for the good of all: for if the *Hollanders* would not come now to make peace, there mig be made with them a *suspension of arms* for a lon time, with common traffick on both sides for t said time, and an *intire peace* to be made with t Queen: whereby there is means offered to cor pound all to the satisfying of the Queen and t *Hollanders*.

An answer to this letter was drawn up by Mr. *Emond* on the 28th of *May* 1602, to this purpose (x) that whereas it was declared, in that letter of *Rich dot*, that there should be no offer to distaste t Queen in point of religion; it was a matter, whi was never doubted here in *England*, that it should moved, or so much as thought to be moved, bo because it was known, that wise men should be er ployed in such a cause; and because all motives that nature must be answered with like propositio back again. He then complains of *Philip III*. *Spain's* malice against the Queen, in continual supporting her rebels, and proclaiming his purpo to make a conquest of one of her Majesty's Kin doms: but that she was so far from throwing a imputation upon the Archduke, in whom she h never found any dishonour, as she wholly imput it to the counsels of *Spain*, who desiring still to ma good their former violent courses against this Sta have not advertised the Archduke of their secret d signs, till they were put in execution; as appear when *Coemans* came over; for he being told, th it was certainly known, that the forces were er barked for *Ireland*, he affirmed it was only for *Agier*; which, if the Archdukes had not conceiv to be so, surely they should in no sort have requir her Majesty's clear and confident proceedings wi

(x) Ibid. p. 615, and 631.

them to have pressed a treaty, when they knew the King of *Spain* had a constant preparation to invade her Kingdom.

Upon the death of *George Gilpin*, Esq; the Queen's Resident at the *Hague*, in *September* 1602, Mr. *Edmondes* was thought the most likely person to succeed in that post, if it should be refused by Mr. *Bodley* (y), which probably he would, having now devoted himself to a studious life, and the raising his magnificent library at *Oxford* (z); and Mr. *Ralph Winwood*, in a letter from *Paris* of the 17th of *October* 1602, congratulated Mr. *Edmondes* upon the report of his going to *Holland* (a). But this post was, after all, designed by the Queen for Mr. *Winwood* himself (b), who held his place of Resident in *France* till *January* 1602-3, notwithstanding the arrival of Sir *Thomas Parry*, her Majesty's Ambassador there, in *August* preceding (c).

Upon the appointment of Sir *Thomas Parry* to that post, Mr. *Edmondes* had an opportunity of recommending to him his friend Mr. *Dudley Carleton*, who acknowledged his obligations to him on that account, in a letter from *Paris* of the 18th of *October*, N.S. (d). This Gentleman, who was son of *Anthony Carleton* of *Baldwin-Brightwell* near *Watlington* in *Oxfordshire*, Esq; being born there the 10th of *March* 1573, and educated at *Christ-Church* at *Oxford*, where he took the degree of Master of Arts in

(y) Sir *William Browne*'s letter to Sir *Robert Sidney*, from *Flushing*, *October* 16, 1602, N. S. Letters of the *Sidney* family, vol. 2. p. 259.

(z) See Sir *Thomas Bodley*'s life, written by himself, printed among his Genuine Remains, p. 11. & seqq. edit, Lond. 1703.

(a) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s MS. State Papers, vol. 2. p. 685.

(b) Secretary *Cecil*'s letter to Mr. *Winwood* of the 5th of *January* 1602-3. *Winwood*'s Memorials, vol. 1. p. 460.

(c) Ibid. p. 430. (d) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, vol. 2. p. 681.

204 *View of the Negotiations between*

1600 (e), afterwards distinguished himself by his embassies to *Venice*, the Duke of *Savoy*, the States General, and the King of *France*; and in 1626, was advanced to the *Imbercourt* in *Surry*, and in 1628 to the title of Viscount *Dorchester* in *Oxfordshire*, and the same year appointed one of the principal Secretaries of State, in which he continued till his death, which happened on the 15th of *February* 1631-2; who, according to the testimony of Sir *Thomas Roe* (f), as he walked rightly in his life, died manly and Christianly.

He understood, as Lord *Clarendon* observes*, all that related to foreign employments, and the condition of other Princes and Nations, very well: but the noble historian represents him as unacquainted with the government, laws, and customs of his own country, and the nature of the people. But this seems absolutely incompatible with the experience, which he must have acquired in the House of Commons, of which he was an eminent and active member, and a considerable speaker†, during several Parliaments, in which he sat there, in the beginning of King *James I.*'s reign, till the year 1610, when he was sent Ambassador to *Venice*; and the figure, which he made in that House, seems to have chiefly recommended him to that admirable judge of men, the Lord Treasurer *Salisbury*. When he was advanced to the post of Secretary of State, King *Charles I.* was highly pleased with him, and, in one respect, preferred him to the great Lord *Falkland* himself; for, said the King to Sir *Philip Warwick* §, *he ever brought me my own words; but my Lord Falkland*

(e) *Wood, Athen. Oxon.*, vol. 1. col. 563. 2d edit. (f) MS. letter to Mr. *Dinley* at the *Hague*, February 24, 1631-2.

* *History of the Rebellion*, Book I. p. 22. Edit. *Oxf* 1732. fol.

† *Journals of the House of Commons*, Vol. I. and Sir *Ralph Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 54.

§ *Memoirs*, p. 70. edit. *London*. 1701.

most commonly brought me my instructions in so fine a dress, that I did not always own them. However, Sir *Dudley's* private letters were full of vivacity, and shewed both a learned and polite education; and his public ones, of which whole volumes are still extant, contain excellent details of affairs abroad, drawn up with great perspicuity, and enlivened with a judicious choice of circumstances; though during so unadvised and overbearing an administration as that of the Duke of *Buckingham*, he chiefly contented himself with an ample and clear state of facts, without interposing his own judgment upon the measures to be deduced from them. His zeal for Protestantism in general was strong and irreproachable: But the part, which he acted in the disputes among the professors of that religion in *Holland*, by supporting the *Calvinists* in opposition to the *Arminians*, was in all probability much more owing to the instructions of King *James I.* who interfered in those contests with an unnecessary and unreasonable warmth, than to his own particular prejudices in favour of the *Calvinistical* system of doctrines. For his own reflections, under the influence of so moderate and rational a divine, as Mr. *Hales* of *Eton*, his chaplain, would have shewn him, that the real interests of society were not the least concerned in those disputes.

There appears nothing more of Mr. *Edmond's* employments during the rest of the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, whose last illness and death, which happened at *Richmond* on the 24th of *March* 1602-3, in the 70th year of her age, and 44th of her reign, were attended with several remarkable circumstances, which will be best described in the words of Sir *Robert Cary*, Earl of *Monmouth*, a near relation of her Majesty, being fourth son of *Henry Lord Hunsdon*, and grandson of *William Cary*, Esq; who married the Lady *Mary Boleyn*, sister to Queen *Anne Boleyn*, mother to
Queen

Queen Elizabeth. This Earl left *Memoirs of his own life*, which have never been printed; and from which it will not be improper to insert the following extract, transcribed from a copy of those *Memoirs*, lately in the possession of the right honourable the Lady *Elizabeth Spelman* deceased, one of his Lordship's descendents.

“ When I came to Court, I found the Queen ill
 “ disposed, and she kept her inner lodging; yet
 “ she, hearing of my arrival, sent for me. I found
 “ her in one of her withdrawing chambers, sitting
 “ low upon her cushions. She called me to her :
 “ I kissed her hand, and told her, it was my chiefest
 “ happiness to see her in safety, and in health, which
 “ I wished might long continue. She took me by
 “ the hand, and wrung it hard, and said, *No, Ro-*
 “ *bin, I am not well* : And then discoursed with me
 “ of her indisposition, and that her heart had been
 “ sad and heavy for ten or twelve days * ; and, in
 “ her

* *Camilien*, p. 852, says, that she was extremely melancholy, which the friends of the Earl of *Essex* imputed to her Majesty's concern for the loss of him. With this historian agrees the writer of a letter from *London* the 3d of *April* 1603, N. S. printed in the third volume of *Monfr. de Villeroy's Memoires d'Etat*, p. 209. & seqq. The writer, who was probably *Monfr. de Beaumont*, the French Ambassador, observes, that the common opinion, and that of the physicians, and of those who attended the Queen in her chamber, was, that her sickness proceeded from a melancholy, which she had fallen into several days before she made any complaint, and which was ascribed to her regret for the Earl of *Essex's* death. But as this does not seem a sufficient cause for the Queen's excessive concern at that time, since his Lordship had been executed above two years before; I shall add, as the best commentary upon the Earl of *Monmouth's Memoirs*, a story, which was frequently told by his great-grand-daughter, the late Lady *Elizabeth Spelman*, whose father, *John Earl of Middleton*, married *Martha* daughter of *Henry Earl of Monmouth*, eldest son of *Earl Robert*, author of the *Memoirs*.

When *Catharine Countess of Nottingham*, wife of the Lord High Admiral, and sister of the Earl of *Monmouth*, was dying
 (as

her discourse, she fetched not so few as forty or fifty great sighs. I was grieved at the first to see her in this plight; for, in all my life-time before, I never knew her fetch a sigh, but when the Queen of *Scots* was beheaded. Then, upon my knowledge, she shed many tears and sighs, manifesting her innocence, that she never gave consent to the death of that Queen. I used the best words I could to persuade her from this melancholy humour; but I found by her it was too deep-rooted in her heart, and hardly to be removed. This was upon a *Saturday* night; and she gave command, that the great closet should be prepared for her

as he did, according to his Lordship's own account, about a fortnight before the Queen) she sent to her Majesty, to desire that she might see her, in order to reveal something to her Majesty without the discovery of which she could not die in peace. At the Queen's coming, Lady *Nottingham* told her, that, while the Earl of *Effex* lay under sentence of death, he was desirous of her Majesty's mercy, in the manner prescribed by herself, to the height of his favour; the Queen having given him a ring which being sent to her as a token of his distress, might bring him to her protection. But the Earl, jealous of those who were about him, and not caring to trust any one of them with it, as he was looking out of his window one morning, saw a boy, with a certain appearance he was pleased; and, engaging him by money promises, directed him to carry the ring, which he took from his finger, and threw down, to Lady *Scroope*, a sister of the Countess of *Nottingham*, and a friend of his Lordship, who presented it upon the Queen; and to beg of her, that she would give it to her Majesty. The boy, by mistake, carried it to the Countess of *Nottingham*, who shewed it to her husband, the Admiral, enemy of Lord *Effex*, in order to take his advice. The Admiral forbid her to carry it, or return any answer to the message; and insisted upon her keeping the ring.

The Countess of *Nottingham* having made this discovery, and told the Queen's forgiveness; but her Majesty answered, *God forgive you, but I never can*; and left the room with great sorrow. Her mind was so struck with this story, that she never went into bed, nor took any sustenance, from that instant: for she is of opinion, p. 803. that her chief reason for suffering the Earl to be executed, was his supposed obstinacy, in not applying to her for mercy.

“ to go to Chapel the next morning. The
 “ day, all things being in a readiness, we long
 “ expected her coming. After eleven a-clock
 “ of the Grooms came out, and bade make re-
 “ for the private closet; she would not go to
 “ great. There we staid long for her coming;
 “ at the last she had cushions laid for her in the
 “ vy-chamber, hard by the closet-door, and t
 “ she heard Service. From that day forwards
 “ grew worse and worse. She remained upon
 “ cushions four days and nights at the least:
 “ about her could not persuade her either to
 “ any sustenance, or go to bed. I, hearing
 “ neither her physicians, nor none about her, co
 “ persuade her to take any course for her saf
 “ feared her death would soon after ensue. I c
 “ not but think in what a wretched estate I sh
 “ be left, most of my livelihood depending on
 “ life. And hereupon I bethought myself, v
 “ what grace and favour I was ever received of
 “ King of *Scots*, whensoever I was sent to him.
 “ did assure myself, it was neither unjust nor un
 “ nest for me to do for myself, if God, at that ti
 “ should call her to his mercy. Hereupon I w
 “ to the King of *Scots* (knowing him to be the ri
 “ Heir to the Crown of *England*,) and certi
 “ him, in what state her Majesty was. I desired
 “ not to stir from *Edinburgh*: If of that sick
 “ she should die, I would be the first man sho
 “ bring him news of it.

“ The Queen grew worse and worse, because
 “ would be so; none about her being able to p
 “ suade her to go to bed. My Lord Admiral
 “ sent for (who, by reason of my sister's death, t
 “ was his wife, had absented himself some fortni
 “ from Court;) what by fair means, what by fo
 “ he got her to bed. There was no hope of
 “ recovery, because she refused all remedies.

“ W

“ *Wednesday* morning, the 23d of *March*, she grew
speechless. That afternoon, by signs, she called
for her Council, and, by putting her hand to her
head, when the King of *Scots* was named to suc-
ceed her, they all knew he was the Man she de-
sired should reign after her. About six at night
she made signs for the Archbishop, and her Chap-
lains, to come to her; at which time I went in
with them, and sat upon my knees, full of tears,
to see that heavy sight. Her Majesty lay upon
her back, with one hand in the bed, and the other
without. The Archbishop kneeled down by her,
and examined her first of her faith; and she so
punctually answered all his several questions, lift-
ing up her eyes, and holding up her hand, as it
was a comfort to all the beholders. Then the
good man told her plainly, what she was, and
what she was to come to; and though she had
been long a great Queen here upon earth, yet
shortly she was to yield an account of her steward-
ship to the King of Kings. After this he began
to pray, and all, that were by, did answer him.
After he had continued long in prayer, till the
old man’s knees were weary, he blessed her, and
meant to rise, and leave her. The Queen made a
sign with her hand. My sister *Scraope*, knowing
her meaning, told the Bishop, the Queen desired
he should pray still. He did so for a long half an
hour after, and then thought to leave her. The
second time she made sign to have him continue
in prayer: He did so for half an hour more, with
cries to God for her soul’s health, which he utter-
ed with that fervency of spirit, as the Queen, to
all our sight, much rejoiced thereat, and gave
testimony to us all, of her Christian and comfort-
able end. By this time it grew late, and every
one departed, all but her women, that attended
her.

P

“ This,

210 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ This, that I heard with my ears, and did see
 “ with my eyes, I thought it my duty to set down,
 “ and to affirm it for a truth, upon the faith of a
 “ Christian ; because I know there have been many
 “ false lyes reported of the end and death of that
 “ good Lady.

“ I went to my lodging, and left word with one
 “ in the Cofferer’s chamber, to call me, if that night
 “ it was thought she would die ; and gave the porter
 “ an angel to let me in at any time when I called.
 “ Between one and two of the clock, on *Thursday*
 “ morning, he, that I left in the Cofferer’s chamber,
 “ brought me word the Queen was dead. I rose
 “ and made all haste to the gate to get in.
 “ There I was answered, I could not enter ; that
 “ Lords of the Council having been with him, and
 “ commanded him, that none should go in and out
 “ but by warrant from them. At the very instant
 “ one of the Council (the Comptroller) asked, whe-
 “ ther I was at the gate ? I said, *Yes*. He said to
 “ me, If I pleased, he would let me in. I desired
 “ to know how the Queen did ? He answered, *Pre-
 “ ty well*. I bade him, *Good-night*. He replied
 “ and said, Sir, if you will come in, I will give you
 “ my word and credit, you shall go out again at
 “ your own pleasure. Upon his word I entered the
 “ gate, came up to the Cofferer’s chamber, where
 “ I found all the Ladies weeping bitterly. He led
 “ me from thence into the Privy-chamber, where
 “ the Council was assembled. There I was com-
 “ manded to hold of, and assured, I should not go for *Scotland*
 “ till their pleasure were farther known. I told
 “ them, I came on purpose to that end. From thence
 “ they all went to the Secretary’s chamber ; and
 “ as they went, they gave especial command to the
 “ porters, That none should go out of the gate, but
 “ such servants, as they should send to prepare the
 “ coaches and horses for *London*. There was I led

n the midft of the court to think my own thoughts, till they had done council. I went to my brother's chamber, who was in bed, having been over-watched many nights before. I got him up with all speed; and when the Council's men were going out of the gate, my brother thruft to the gate. The porter, knowing him to be a great officer, let him out. I preffed after him, and was ftaid by the porter. My brother angrily bid to the porter, *Let him out: I will answer for him.* Whereupon I was fuffered to pafs, which I was not a little glad of. I got to horfe, and rode to the Knight-marshal's lodging by *Charing-crofs*, and there ftaid till the Lords came to *Whitehall garden*. I ftaid there till it was nine a-clock in the morning; and, hearing, that all the Lords were in the old *Orchard* at *Whitehall*, I fent the Marshal to tell them, that I had ftaid all that while to know their pleasures; and that I would attend them, if they would command me any fervice. They were very glad, when they heard I was not gone; and defired the Marshal to fend for me, and fhould, with all fpeed, be difpatched for *Scotland*. The Marshal believed them, and fent Sir *Arthur Savage* for me. I made hafte to them. One of the Council (my Lord of *Banbury* that now is) whifpered the Marshal in the ear, and told him, I came, they would ftay me, and fend fome other in my ftcad. The Marshal got from them, and met me coming to them between the two gates. He bad me be gone; for he had learned for certain, that, if I came to them, they would betray me. I returned, and took horfe between nine and ten a-clock, and that night I rode to *Donafter*. The *Friday* night I came to my own houfe to *Weltherington*, and prefently took order with my Deputies to fee the borders kept in quiet; which they had much to do; and gave order,

212 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ that; the next morning, the King of Scotland should
 “ be proclaimed King of England, &c. at *Morpeth*
 “ and *Alnewick*. Very early, on *Saturday*, I took
 “ horse for *Edinburgh*, and came to *Norham* about
 “ twelve at noon; so that I might well have been
 “ with the King by supper-time: but I got a great
 “ fall by the way, and my horse, with one of his
 “ heels, gave me a great blow on the head, that
 “ made me shed much blood. It made me so weak
 “ that I was forced to ride a soft pace after; so that
 “ the King was newly gone to bed by that time
 “ knocked at the gate. I was quickly let in, and
 “ carried up to the King’s chamber. I knelt before
 “ him, and saluted him by his title of *England, Scotland,*
 “ *land, France, and Ireland*. He gave me his hand
 “ to kiss, and bade me welcome. After he had heard
 “ discoursed of the manner of the Queen’s sickness
 “ and of her death, he asked, what letters I had
 “ from the Council? I told him, none; and acquainted
 “ him how narrowly I escaped from them; and
 “ yet I had brought him a blue ring from a fair Lady
 “ (b), that I hoped would give him assurance of
 “ the truth, that I had reported. He took it, and
 “ looked upon it, and said, *It is enough; I know*
 “ *this you are a true messenger*. Then he comman-
 “ ded me to the charge of my Lord *Attorney*, who
 “ gave strait command, that I should wait upon him.
 “ He sent for his chirurgeons to attend me; and
 “ when I kissed his hand at my departure, he said
 “ to me these gracious words: *I know you have a*
 “ *near Kinswoman, and a loving Mistress: I will*
 “ *take here my hand; I will be as good a Master*

(b) Lady Elizabeth Spelman used to relate, that the Duke of
Scroope, who waited upon the Queen in her last moments, as soon
 as her Majesty expired, threw this ring out of the window to his
 brother, which appears to have been a token agreed upon be-
 tween her and the King of Scots, as the notice of the Queen’s
 death.

, and will requite this service with honour and
 ward."

e character of Queen Elizabeth* in general
 has

he learned reader will not perhaps be displeased to see a
 rely and accurate description of her Majesty by *Paulus
 vrus*, a German civilian, who saw her, and the Court of
 ick, in 1598. and whose *Itinerarium Germaniæ, Galliæ,
 , Italiæ*, printed at *Breslau* in 1617. in 4to, is to be met
 by few of the Libraries of *England*. Under the 6th of
 her 1598. N. S. our traveller writes as follows, p. 134—
 'Veniunt deinde ad arcem regiam *Gronovidge*, seu *Gron-
 ovigo* dictam. In camera [presentationis] præstolaban-
 Regiam Episcopi Cantuariensis & Londinensis, Confi-
 , Officarii, & Nobiles in magno numero. Postea cum ho-
 num inflaret, Regina ex suo conclavi prodijt tali cum
 hinc : Præibant Nobiles, Barones, Comites, & Equites
 in Periscelidis, omnes splendide vestiti, & capite detecto.
 antecedebant duo, alter qui Sceptrum Regni, alter
 in Vagina rubra aureis Liliis distincta recondi-
 cuspidè sursum versâ, portabat, inter quos medius pro-
 Magnus Angliæ Cancellarius, Sigillum Regni in mar-
 chæserico rubro gerens. Hos sequebatur Regina, ætatis
 puer erat, LXV annorum, magna cum majestate, facie
 candidâ, sed rugosâ, oculis parvis, sed nigris & gra-
 t, naso paululum inflexo, labiis compressis, dentibus ful-
 sis (quod vitium ex nimio saccari usu Anglos contrahere
 inde est), in aures habens duas margaritis appensis, cri-
 solvum, sed factitium. Capiti imposita erat parva quæ-
 corona, quæ ex particulâ auri celeberrimæ illius tabulæ
 chargensis facta esse perhibetur. Pectore erat nuda, quod
 natis apud Anglas Nobiles signum est; nam maritalæ
 pectæ. Collum torques gemmis nobilissimis refertus cir-
 labatur. Manus erant graciles, digiti longiusculi; statu-
 rporis mediocris. In incessu magnifica, verbis blanda &
 pmissima. Induta forte tum temporis erat veste sericâ albâ,
 oram margaritæ pretiosissimæ fabarum magnitudine de-
 beat, toga superinjecta ex serico nigro, cui argentea fila
 sta, cum caudâ longissimâ, quam Marchionissa pone se-
 s à posteriore parte elevatam gestabat. Collare habebat
 regum vice catenæ, gemmis & auro fulgens. Tum cum
 in pompâ & magnificentiâ incederat, nunc cum hoc, mox
 alio loquebatur perhumaniter, qui vel Legationis vel al-
 s rei causâ eò venerant, utens nunc Materno, nunc Galli-
 nunc Italico idiomate. Nam præterquam quod Græcè &

214 *View of the Negotiations between*

has been the subject of so many writers, that, to attempt it again, would be extremely superfluous; though their industry and sagacity have not so far exhausted it, as not to leave some particulars too indistinctly marked, or intirely untouched. Her economy and frugality have been the reigning topics of panegyric on her memory. But these virtues seem on some occasions, to have been carried to excess; and her backwardness, in making the proper and regular remittances to her Ministers in foreign countries†, and scrupling even the trifling expences of posts and couriers*, frequently disabled them from procuring or communicating such intelligence, as was of the utmost importance to the interest and safety of her Crown and the Nation. Her parsimony of the public money, in most other respects, gained her justly the affection of her people, and gave her authority over her Parliaments, almost without controul. For, as she had little to ask of them, and faithfully and judiciously applied what was given; she ventured to treat them with a superiority, which under a less approved reign, like that of her successor, would scarce have been endured. And as she called them chiefly for the purposes of the public supplies, she suffered them to continue to

“ Latine eleganter est docta, tenet, ultra jam memorata
 “ mata, etiam Hispanicum, Scoticum, & Belgicum. Omnia
 “ iam alloquentes pedibus flexis id faciunt, quorum aliquos
 “ terdum manu elevare solet. Hos inter forte tum erat
 “ quidam Bohemus Gulielmus Slavvata nomine, Reginae
 “ afferens, cui manum dextram, chirotheca detractâ, annulis
 “ lapidibus pretiosissimis splendentem, porrexit osculandam
 “ quod maximum insignis clementiae signum est. In transi-
 “ quocunque faciem vertit, omnes in genua procidunt. Sequi
 “ bantur Gynæceum ex Comitissis, Baronissis, & Nobilibus
 “ minis summâ pulchritudine & formâ excellentibus consti-
 “ & maximâ ex parte vestimentis albicans. Ab utroque latere
 “ comitabantur eam Satellites nobiles cum Hastis deauratis
 “ quorum quinquaginta sunt numero.”

† See above, p. 11, 20, 21.

* See above, p. 21.

ther

but for a short space, and restrained them from
 ting into any debates upon the great measures
 overnment, which she insisted upon as her in-
 nunicable Prerogative: but, at the same time,
 ipated all their intended complaints and griev-
 : by redressing them herself; of which she gave
 ninent instance in the suppression of the mono-
 s, one of the last acts of her glorious reign.

er style, in all her letters, was supported by an
 f Majesty, peculiar to her in all her actions: But
 skill in the learned languages, to a degree un-
 mon in her sex, and which would have been
 inction in the other, gave it a tincture of pe-
 y and affectation, which was more suitable to
 the of the next age, than the classical purity of
 own, which produced *Jewel, Hooker, Sidney,*
Raleigh.

er talents in conversation were great and various:
 ould descend to the utmost familiarity, without
 g her dignity; and, by adapting herself to the
 er and humour of those, who had access to her,
 d an intire ascendant over them.

ut, with qualifications, which would have
 ned the greatest of men; she had one of the
 st weaknesses of a woman, an unconquerable
 of fantastic coquetry; which continued with her
 e last; and which indeed she sometimes made
 f for her political purposes.

he *Roman* Catholics in general write and speak
 r with horror, as the great persecutor of their
 ion. But their representations, in that point,
 ot to be regarded; since the laws, which she
 ed and executed against those of that party,
 not at all intended against their profession, as a
 ne of superstition; but were a necessary security
 er person and government, which had been pro-

scribed by the Pope, and attacked both privately and publicly by his bigotted followers *.

Her Ministers were absolutely of her own choice and their characters and conduct were such, that nothing can be more just, than what Mr. *Waller* ascribed of her to King *James II.* who, in diminution of her personal merit, allowed her to have an Council: To which he replied, with his usual vivacity *And when did your Majesty ever know a foolish Prince to chuse a wise one?*

The death of the Queen gave great concern to the King of *France*, and the States General, who were both apprehensive, that her Successor might be engaged by the *Spaniard* to abandon the latter. To prevent which, as well as to congratulate the new King upon his accession to the Throne; the States sent, Embassadors to him, Count *Henry Frederick Nassau* the younger son of *William*, the first Prince of *Orange*, *Monfr. de Brederode*, *Monfr. Bernart* and *Jacob Valck*, Treasurer of *Zealand*; who came to *London* on the 14th of *May* 1603, eight days after the King's arrival there (a). But they met with a very indifferent reception from the King, who never spoke of them but with reproaches and contempt and called them by no other name than that of *Belts* to their Prince (b), till the coming over of *Maximilian de Bethune*, Marquis de *Rosny*, afterwards Duke de *Sully*, who was sent to *England* by *Henry I* not only to congratulate King *James*, but also to prevent him from being engaged by the King of *Spain*; and to renew the defensive alliance, which

* This point is proved, with great force and clearness, by one of the greatest men of the age, the Lord Treasurer *Burghley* in his discourse, intituled, *The execution of justice in England, for Religion, but for Treason*; and Sir *Francis Bacon*, in his *Observations upon a Libel*.

(a) Meteren, L. xxv. fol. 530, 531 (b) *Memoires Oeconomiques royales &c. de Henry le Grand, par Maximilian Bethune, Duc de Sully, Part. II. Tom III p. 370.*

been made with Queen *Elizabeth* (c). The Marquis, among his instructions, had express orders to the King his Master to appear in mourning, with all his train, at his first audience: but he was told that this would disoblige King *James*, who would not suffer his subjects to wear mourning for a deceased Queen (d); for whose memory the King affected to shew the greatest contempt; boasting to the Marquis, that, for several years before the Queen's death, it was he, properly, who governed *England*, having gained all her Ministers, who did nothing but by his directions *. The Marquis, arrived at *London* about the 8th of *June* 1603, his address and flatteries to King *James*, gained him an ascendant over him, as to prevail upon him to sign a treaty with the King of *France*, on the 25th of that month (e); upon which the Marquis returned home; and it was not till after his departure from *London*, that Count *Aremberg*, who was sent Ambassador to King *James* from the Archduke *Albert*, like Infanta *Isabella*, had audience of his Majesty, as sick, or pretending to be so, during the Marquis's stay in *England*.

Mr. Edmondes, in the beginning of this Reign, seems to have been neglected, and his services not valued as he expected; nor was he treated in the manner, in which his great knowledge in the affairs of *France* deserved; which he could not avoid complaining of to his old acquaintance the Marquis of *Sey* at *Greenwich*, on the 15th of *June* 1603. On the latter had his second audience of the King. However, he was knighted by his Majesty on the 10th of *May* that year; and, upon the conclusion of the

(c) *Ibid.* p. 293—327. Edit. Rouen 1663. (d) *Ibid.* p. 338. 381, 382. * *Ibid.* p. 429. (e) *Ibid.* p. 543—548. *Ibid.* p. 405.

218 *View of the Negotiations between*

peace with *Spain*, on the 18th of *August* 1604: he was designed to be sent Ambassador to the Archduke at *Brussels* (g); and, in *September* that year, Mr. *Ralph Winwood* wrote to him from the *Hague* (h) in these terms: "I hear, by many of our good friends, you are to be mine antagonist with the Archduke; and from *Antwerp* it is advertised, that daily you are attended at *Brussels*." But, on the 15th of *November* following, the same Gentleman wrote to him again from the *Hague* (i): "We are sorry here to understand, that your voyage into *Flanders* is no more certain, for the hopes we had to receive many good offices from you of kindness and favour." But, the next month, he began to make provision for his journey (k); and, in *January* 1604-5. obtained the full allowance of Ambassador, with a promise to have that mended (l); and, about the same time, *Edward Earl of Hertford* accepted of the charge of Ambassador Extraordinary to take the Archduke's oath to the peace (m). On the 23d of *March* following, N. S. the Audienccr, *Verreyken*, wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* from *Brussels* (n), in answer to one of Sir *Thomas's* of the 20th of *February*, congratulating him upon his being appointed Ambassador to that Court; and representing the satisfaction, which it gave to the Archduke, and the whole Court. In the beginning of that month of *March*, Sir *Thomas* went to the North, in order to take his leave of the Earl of *Sbrevsbury* (o); as

(g) Sir *Henry Neville's* letter to Mr. *Winwood*, *London*, 19th May 1604. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 26. (h) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-papers, Vol. II. p. 717. (i) Ibid. p. 709. (k) Mr. *John More's* letter to Mr. *Winwood*, *London*, 21st December 1604. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 42. (l) Mr. *Dudley Carleton's* letter to Mr. *Winwood* from *London*, *January* 1604. Ibid. p. 45. (m) Ibid. (n) Sir *Thomas Edmondes's* MS. State-papers, Vol. III. p. 163. (o) Mr. *D. Carleton* to Mr. *Winwood*, *Greenwich*, 10th March 1604. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 52.

the Earl of *Hertford* and he did likewise of the King in the beginning of *April* 1605 (*p*); Sir *Thomas* having first obtained the reversion of the place of Master of the Crown-office (*q*); and, on the 19th of that month, he set out with the Earl on their Embassy (*r*). The Earl, having dispatched his business at *Brussels*, in receiving the Archduke's oath to confirm the peace, went from thence to *Antwerp*, whither Sir *Thomas Edmondes* attended him; and, on the 14th of *May* 1605. wrote from thence to Secretary *Cecil*, just then created Earl of *Salisbury*, that he hoped, that the Earl of *Hertford* "would bring full satisfaction in all things concerning his charge; and "that his Lordship had, in all other circumstances, "performed his Legation, to his Majesty's great "honour, as a worthy and magnificent Minister of "his Majesty (*s*);" for his Lordship had made a rate of expence of ten thousand pounds, besides the King's allowance (*t*): And this expence he thought such a merit, that afterwards, upon the determination of a difference between him and the Lord *Monteagle*, in which the Earl of *Salisbury*, and others, were arbitrators, and determined in favour of the latter; the Earl of *Hertford* could not forbear saying, that he expected better usage, in respect not only of his cause, but of his expence and service in his Embassy (*u*). To which the Earl of *Salisbury* answered, that, considering how things stood between his Ma-

(*p*) Mr. *Park* and Mr. *Samuel Calvert* to Mr. *Winwood*, *London*. 6 Apr. 1605. Ibid. p. 56, 57. (q) Ibid. p. 58. (r) *Camdeni Annales Jacobi* l. p. 4. (s) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-papers, Vol. III. p. 204. (t) Mr. *Dudley Carlton* to Mr. *Winwood*, 11th March 1604. *Winwood's Memorials*, p. 52. (u) Letters to several persons of Honour, written by *John Donne*, sometime Dean of *St Paul's, London*, p. 214, 215. Edit. *London*. 1651, 4to. The letter, here quoted, was written to Sir *Henry Gouvier*; but has no date.

220 *View of the Negotiations between*

Jeſty and the houſe of *Hertford* (w) at the King's entrance, the King had done him eſpecial favour, in that employment of honour and confidence, by declaring, by ſo public and great an act and testimony, that he had no ill affections towards him. The Earl of *Hertford* replied, that he was then and ever an honeſt man to the King: And the Earl of *Salisbury* denied not that; but yet ſolemnly repeated his firſt words; ſo that the Earl of *Hertford* ſeemed not to make anſwer; but, purſuing his own words, ſaid, that whoſoever denied him to have been an honeſt man to the King, lyed. The Earl of *Salisbury* aſked him, if he directed that upon him? The other replied, upon any, who denied this. The earneſtneſs of both was ſuch, as the Earl of *Salisbury* accepted it to himſelf; and made proteſtation before the Lords preſent, that he would do nothing elſe, till he had honourably put off that lye; and, within an hour after, ſent the Earl of *Hertford* a direct challenge by his ſervant Mr. *Knighley*. The Earl of *Hertford* required only an hour's leiſure of conſideration (to inform himſelf, as it was ſaid, of the eſpecial danger of dealing ſo with a Privy-counſellor); and then returned his acceptance of the challenge: And all circumſtances were ſo clearly handled between them, that *St. James's* was agreed for the place; and they were both come from their ſeveral lodgings, and upon the way to have met, when they were interrupted by the perſons, who were ſent by the King to prevent the miſchief, which otherwiſe might have followed.

Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, ſoon after his arrival at *Bruffels*, wrote to Secretary *Cecil*, then Lord Viſcount *Cranborne*, a character of the Marquis *Ambro-*

(w) The Earl had married the Lady *Catharine Grey*, ſiſter to Lady *Jane Grey*, nearly related to the Crown.

Spinola, the celebrated *Genoese* General, who had appointed Camp-master General and Governor of the *Spanish* forces in the *Low Countries*, upon reduction of *Ostend* in September 1604 (y). It is truly confessed, says Sir Thomas, in his letter from Feb of the 3d of May (z), that there do concur good parts in him [*Spinola*] both for being very apt of his person, and likewise active and industrious; and that he is very well skilled in matters of war, and therewith also hath purchased himself love by his liberality. But they hold him to be yet very much unexperienced to conduct the wars; having great envy born unto him by Don Lewis Velasco, and the rest of the *Spanish* commanders, who do much repine, that so great authority is conferred on him, which was wrought by the importunity of *Arthurs*. It is said, that, instead of assisting in their consultations for the war, they do objections against any thing, that he propoundeth, only he discerneth, that they would not be unwilling to receive a blow, to give occasion to diminish his reputation. It hath therefore been observed, that the Marquis hath been the more careful to assist himself with the counsel of particular men, which are sufficient; and that he beginneth to follow a counsel of the Duke of Parma's, after having heard other men's opinions, to resolve by himself alone.

Sir Thomas Parry, who had been sent Ambassador to the Court of France in June 1602. and resided there in the same post, held a correspondence with Sir Thomas Edmondes; and, on the 1st of June 05. O. S. wrote to him from Paris (a), taking notice of Henry IV.'s late illness of a fever; and that errand to that King was, to solicit the treaty of

(y) *Bentivoglio's wars of Flanders*, Part III. L. vii. (z) Sir Edmondes's MS. State-papers, Vol. III p. 175. (a) *Ibid.* 237.

the reglement for the *English* merchants traffick. Sir *Thomas* had been, for some time, weary of his employment, and had laboured to be recalled the year before (*b*); which he now succeeded in; and, on the 30th of *June* 1605, O. S. expressed his satisfaction on that account to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* in a letter from *Paris* (*c*): "His Majesty's Secretary, says he, advertiseth, that, by his next packet, I shall receive the commission; but no mention of any assistance till after *Michaelmas*. Then his Majesty sendeth Sir *George Carew*, a Master of the Chancery, to succeed in my charge, and ease me of this burden; and willeth me confidently to trust to this resolution. This flash of comfort lighteneth my heart; for I protest to you, my Lord, no exile, no prison, could have so much dejected my spirits, as the vexations I have here thus long endured, endeavouring, what I might, to perform good offices, by removing occasions of suspicions and jealousy; sed frustra. The King is very favourable and gracious, yielding to all reasonable motions in course of justice and equity: but the wheels, that carry the affairs of the State under him, are subject to as many counter-courses as the celestial spheres."

A body of *Spanish* soldiers, designed for *Flanders*, having been obliged by the *Dutch* ships to take refuge in *Dover*, Mr. *Winwood* wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, on the 27th of *July* 1605. from the *Hague* (*d*), that a servant of Sir *Noel Caron*, the Resident from the States General in *England*, was then arrived in *Holland*, who "spoke strangely, as though his Master did fear these *Spaniards* should

(*b*) Sir *Henry Neville* to Mr *Winwood*, from *London* 19th *August* 1604. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 26.

Edmondes's MS State-papers, Vol. III. p. 273.

(*c*) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's MS State-papers*, Vol. III. p. 273. (*d*) *Ibid.*

p. 322, 323.

be conveyed over by his Majesty's ships, by his connivance, and secret order from the Lord Admiral, who, with those twelve, which received the presents in *Spain*, are said to speak wholly *Spanish*, though the rest of the company doth retain the *English* hearts they carried with them. It is here reported, that the Lord *Arundel* doth come over to you, to command those of our Nation, which are at your service. I have no such advertisement; but, if it be so, this kind of proceeding will enforce these Provinces to resolve of strange courses; such, perhaps, as are little feared, and yet not suspected. But life is sweet; and they are to be excused to leave no way unsought for their own subsistence and preservation."

The insinuation in this letter, that the Lord Admiral, the Earl of *Nottingham*, who had, in the former reign, so highly distinguished himself, upon all occasions, against the *Spaniards*, and who had the principal hand in the destruction of the *Armada* in 1588. was now brought over to the interest of *Spain* by the presents, which he had received there in his Extraordinary Embassy in 1605, is strongly confirmed by a passage in a letter of Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, Ambassador in Ordinary at *Madrid*, to Sir *Henry Wotton*, Ambassador at *Venice*, dated at *Madrid* 10th July 1605. O. S. in which he says (g), that all charges of diet, and of carriage and conveyance to *Madrid*, were defrayed by the King of *Spain*, who, besides all other demonstrations of good affection and desire to do the Earl of *Nottingham* honour, bestowed upon him in plate, jewels, and horses, at his departure, to the value of Twenty thousand pounds. To some other of the principal of his attendants he likewise gave chains and jewels of great value. Sir *Thomas Edmondes* likewise, in a letter to Sir *Charles Cornwallis* from

(g) *Wurwood's Memorials*, Vol. II p. 89.

224 *View of the Negotiations between*

Brussels, 22d *August*, 1605. O. S. observes (b), “
 “ have here had ample relations of the *liberalist*
 “ *your Court there*, according as the custom is,
 “ to conceal such matters. And, by other me
 “ I have heard also the report of other *accide*
 “ which fell out in that journey, which I was si
 “ and *ashamed* to hear. But it may be very v
 “ said, that nothing happened therein contrary
 “ expectation; *for that no better fruit was to be*
 “ *peeled of such a stock.*”

In the same letter Sir Thomas takes notice, t
 the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, who had been
 vanced to that title in the beginning of *May* p
 ceding (i), was expected in *Flanders*, to be Colo
 of the *English* Regiment, which the Archdukes l
 levied for their service, which was already raised
 the number of fifteen hundred, partly by those, wh
 had been brought out of *England*, and otherwise
 the deserters from the States army: And that it w
 expected also, that the Earl of *Hume* should bri
 over a regiment of *Scots*. Accordingly, the Earl
Salisbury, on the 12th of the same month, *Aug*
 wrote to Sir Thomas from the Court at *Rockingham* (l
 that, “ since the concluding of the peace, his M
 “ jesty knoweth not of any extraordinary courti
 “ he hath used towards the States, whereof the El
 “ have not, in a far greater proportion, been yield
 “ to the Archdukes: for his Majesty hath not su
 “ fered any person, of Blood and Quality, to go.
 “ the States service, as he hath done on the oth
 “ side, in the person of the Earl of *Hume*, an m
 “ cient Nobleman of *Scotland*, to take a public char
 “ to conduct a new regiment of soldiers to the
 “ service; and the Lord *Arundel* for *England*, to d
 “ the like; a person, who, by his late advanceme

(b) Ibid. p. 111. (i) Ibid. p. 59. (k) Sir Tho. Edmondes
 MS. State-papers, Vol. III p. 373.

“ to his Barony, carrieth the marks of his Majesty’s
 “ extraordinary favour, as may be thought so graced
 “ of purpose for that employment.” But the Lord
Arundel, soon after, took a step, which highly dis-
 obliged the King. The circumstances of it were as
 follows (1): When the Count *de Villa Mediana*, the
Spanish Ambassador, was ready to leave *England*,
 the King sent to Sir *Noel Caron*, to let him know,
 that he expected so good respect and observance in
 the States proceedings towards him in this case, re-
 lating to the safe passage of an Ambassador, that no
 interruption should be offered to him, nor any belong-
 ing to him. Sir *Noel* answered, that he had received
 such an order from his superiors: Only for Lord
Arundel, who had a purpose to transport himself over,
 with divers other Captains, in one of his Majesty’s
 ships, under the protection of the Ambassador, they
 presumed his Majesty would no way allow it; because
 that such sufferance, with the circumstances, might
 seem to draw it with a necessary consequence of em-
 ployment from his Majesty. Whereupon the King
 passed his word to Sir *Noel*, for the staying that Lord,
 and his company, from going in any such manner:
 And therefore, understanding of his Lordship’s set-
 ting forwards towards *Dover*; gave presently orders,
 to some of his Privy-council, to write to the Count
de Villa Mediana, upon such plain and honourable
 terms, as are used in those cases, to require him, for
 the causes above-mentioned, to forbear, in any case,
 to carry Lord *Arundel*; adding, notwithstanding, as
 an argument, that it was not out of any end abso-
 lutely to stay him, or to disappoint the Archduke,
 that his Majesty promised him, that his Lordship
 should, within five days after, not only be permit-
 ted to pass; but the matter should be so ordered, as

(1) Earl of Salisbury’s letter to Sir Charles Cornwallis, 12th
 September 1605. *Winwood’s Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 135.

he should be secured from any violence in his passage: Only, in respect his Majesty had given his word, which ought to be inviolable, he intreated the *Spanish* Embassador to satisfy himself with his promise, as from a Prince, in whom he had never found fraud or guile. Notwithstanding all this, which the King thought himself sufficiently assured, that this would content them, and the Earl of *Salisbury* had caused the matter to be imparted accordingly to Sir *Noel Caron*; the Lord *Arundel*, having bribed Captain *Broadgate*, procured a passage in the *Adventure*, which was Vice-admiral to the Vantguard, in which went the *Spanish* Embassador. The Earl of *Salisbury* therefore wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, on the sixth of September 1605. from *Salisbury* (m), upon this affair, ordering him to remonstrate it to the Archduke, and to insist, that the Lord *Arundel*, after he should have put in order the troops under his charge, and ended with them the summer-service, should return to *England* towards the end of *November*, to render his person before the Council, and to abide his Majesty's further censure. The Earl concluded his letter with these words: "Having now sufficiently delivered all the circumstances of this cause, I leave it unto you to digest your own relation into the form, which seemeth good to your discretion, being careful to set down, as clearly as I can, the particularities of all things here, which have in reference to your charge: which, if they come unto you sometime by common pens before mine, you can well distinguish, that novellars think they do well when they write what they hear be it true or false, where those, that have the charge, which I undergo, are, or ought to be held, sufficiently careful, when they yield satisfaction to public Ministers, agreeable to truth,

(m) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-papers, Vol. III. p. 415.

"matters

matters of importance, leaving matters of less weight to such convenient opportunities, which men are able to find, which have more than one or two to satisfy. In which kind your own diligence, in his Majesty's service, deserves so well, besides your particular profession to myself, as I have thought it not amiss to touch my extraordinary care of you, and others in your charge, as a thing, which, next to the service of God, I most affect, and wholly attend, as I hope it appears by my course of life, which is employed in enjoying myself as little as any man's days, that lives in this time."

Mr. Dudley Carleton, who had been, as was observed above, Secretary to Sir Thomas Parry, the English Ambassador in France, but was in England 1604. where he was patronized by the Lord Viscount Cranborne, and in the beginning of April 1605. accompanied the Lord Norris into Spain (n), on the terms of fifty pounds in hand, an hundred pounds at his return, and forty pounds yearly after his arrival in England (o), was now come back as to Paris, from whence he wrote to Sir Thomas Edmondes, on the 21st of September 1605. N. S. (p), "he was come to this good retreat after a long and some pilgrimage; and that the best judgment he could use of Spain was in these words, *superba miseria*. observes, that the new Ambassador, Sir George Horne, was not looked for at Paris these three months; and that his old master, Sir Thomas Parry, "the old man still; but we are best friends, says he, "we are furthest asunder.

n) Mr. John More to Mr. Winwood, 2 Decemb 1604. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 36. (o) Mr. Samuel Calvert to Mr. Winwood, 28th March 1605. Ibid. p. 54. and 6 April 5. p. 57. (p) Sir Tho. Edmondes's MS. State-papers, . III. F. 447.

Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, on the 27th of September 1605, wrote from *Brussels* to the Earl of *Salisbury*, an account of an offer made to him of some important discoveries (q): “ Here is serving, in these countries, one
 “ Captain *Turner*, who, as I suppose, is well known
 “ unto your Lordship, for his light and dissolute
 “ behaviour, as well in *England*, as in *Germany*, and
 “ other places, where he hath ranged. This man,
 “ because he understood, that I did here censure him
 “ according to his deserving, and refused to enter-
 “ tain his professions, as for formality’s sake I am
 “ here forced to dispense with myself towards others,
 “ though ill-affected, hath been desirous, to the end
 “ to recover a good opinion, to discover unto me
 “ the practices, wherein he is employed from hence,
 “ which is to pursue a negotiation he hath already
 “ begun in *Holland*, for dealing with certain *English-*
 “ *men*, which serve there, and have given assurance
 “ of their willingness to transport themselves hither,
 “ to lay some plots, how, when they shall now re-
 “ tire into garison, they may favour the enterprizes,
 “ which shall be made hence upon any towns, where-
 “ in they shall remain: for they say here, that they
 “ wanted but the least assistance in that kind for the
 “ carrying of *Bergen-op-zoom*, at the time of their
 “ first attempting the same; which is true. And
 “ he speaketh of other things, which have been idly
 “ proposed, as the burning of the ships at *Rotter-*
 “ *dam*, and attempting against the person of the
 “ Count *Maurice*. About the foresaid Commission
 “ he was dispatched by the Marquis of *Spinola* hi-
 “ ther; and he is now addressed with letters from
 “ hence to the Baron of *Hobocque*, to treat with the
 “ parties in the same business, whom, as he saith,
 “ he is for that purpose to fetch out of *Holland*.
 “ And, as there shall be any proceeding therein, he

(q) Ibid. p. 463.

“ offereth

“ offereth to acquaint your Lordship therewith. I
 “ send your Lordship here inclosed the names of the
 “ principal persons, which, as he reporteth, are to be
 “ used in the foresaid enterprizes. And, for *Turner*
 “ himself, I can only say, that his greatest suffi-
 “ ciency, for the doing of any business, is his confi-
 “ dence and boldness; but secrecy or good conduct
 “ he hath none. If he carry himself cleanly in this
 “ business, he may be here of use unto me hereafter,
 “ in some other things. He can inform your Lord-
 “ ship of some others, that be the common market-
 “ men for the transportation of popish reliques and
 “ indulgences into *England*.”

Sir *Thomas Edmondes* began soon to discover
 the dangerous practices of the *Jesuits*, and other
English fugitives in the *Low Countries*; and accord-
 ingly gave early notice of them to the Earl of *Salis-*
bury, and particularly in a letter of the 9th of *Octo-*
ber 1605. from *Brussels* (r). “ The practices, says
 “ he, of the *Jesuits*, and other our *English* fugitives
 “ here, are so continual, and more and more exor-
 “ bitant, as they give me occasion to make often
 “ mention of them to your Lordship. All their
 “ study is, upon every occasion that is offered, to
 “ deprave the actions of his Majesty’s State, where-
 “ of their viperous tongues do make the proceedings
 “ to be so odious and desperate, as they propound
 “ nothing less for remedy than the excommunication
 “ of the King’s Majesty. And nothing doth so
 “ much trouble them, as for that they do not find a
 “ disposition to entertain their practices in that be-
 “ half.”

“ The Count of *Villa Mediana* being much moved
 “ with their proceedings, was with the Pope’s
 “ Nuncio, before his departure, to declare against
 “ them; protesting vehemently, that their ambition,

(r) Ibid. p. 447.

230 *View of the Negotiations between*

“and deceitful relations of the state of *England* would
 “be the cause of the ruin of the body of the Catholics there. The Pope’s Nuncio doth little for
 “them, for his part; and, were it not for the support
 “which they receive from *Mancicidor*, the Spanish
 “Secretary, they would not be so powerful as
 “they are. *Owen* and *Baldwyn*, the Patriarch
 “of that good crew, made a great canvass, that
 “other Priests might have been employed, as chappains
 “in the *English* regiments, but only those of
 “order of the *Jesuits*, to the end to have conferred
 “thereby the opinion and reputation, which is conceived
 “of the power of the order, and to have the managing
 “of the spirits under them at devotion; and also to have
 “had the means thereby to hold the better correspondence
 “with the part of young gentlemen in *England*, in regard
 “of their power to help those, who should depend on
 “the obtaining of entertainments here. But when
 “it was made known unto the Archduke, how displeasing
 “a thing it would be unto the King’s Majesty, to
 “understand of the employment of the *Jesuits* in such
 “sort, he took order for the change of that resolution.
 “They do work in the like manner for the placing
 “of a Colonel at their devotion, if the Lord *Arundel*
 “do not return, having a sign upon Sir *William Stanley*;
 “and they vow that they will support *Studder* in despite
 “of whoe soever. In conclusion, the forenamed champions
 “*Owen* and *Baldwyn*, make themselves the censurers
 “of all matters concerning the state of *England*,
 “and of every man’s merit, that cometh to pass
 “here, who, by reason of the credit, which they
 “have with the Secretary *Mancicidor*, are measured
 “according to the report, which they make of
 “men; whereby they draw the general dependence
 “of our nation upon them; and many of our
 “*liberals* that come hither are afraid to visit me, for

“ in the place, which I do, for fear of giving jealousy to them.”

The Earl of *Salisbury* had already great apprehensions of the resort of the Papists into *Flanders*; and accordingly wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, on the 10th of *October* 1605, from *Whitehall*(s). “ You shall now understand, that his Majesty, and all that love the gospel, begin to be very sensible of the strong and visible torrent, wherewith the ill-affected in this State are carried into these parts, only to satiate themselves upon idolatry and superstition; for which surely ere it be long, it will be high time to provide; because that may now be alleged as the effect of a dangerous experience, which, being represented at the first only in contemplation of that, which now happeneth, might have been interpreted *tanquam causam pro non causa*. That they do thus flock to the Nuncio, encreaseth the scandal of religion; and therefore, for your own part, his Majesty better liketh, that you should dilatorily avoid meeting him, tho’ not by any direct commandment, both because such a correspondence, so unnecessary (considering the person whom he represents) would include the more warrants for private men; as also, because their discourse, and catching hold of his Majesty’s words, about a *general Council*, is merely idle, unless they would understand it, as it is meant, and clear enough in the sense, wheresoever his Majesty hath mentioned it, to be intended a general Council lawfully called, and where there shall be no such inequality of voices, as must of necessity be, considering the multitude of Catholic Prelates, nor yet so partial a judge as the Bishop of *Rome*.” His Lordship then observes, that *men are doubtful, whether this exchange, which Lord*

(s) Ibid. p. 489.

232 *View of the Negotiations between*

Arundel hath made with the honour he had received, and might enjoy, in his own country, do proceed from desire to enable himself by foreign services, or from his passion to be accounted a General for the See of Rome.

The Earl of Northampton, Henry Howard, afterwards Lord Privy Seal, wrote likewise the same day to Sir Thomas Edmondes (1), that he was sorry for the follies of his cousin, the Lord Arundel, "who, " by adding, *says he*, one absurdity to another, " hath, by circles of error, plunged himself into " the most just indignation of the King, that ever " did unthankful subject to so gracious and sweet a " Sovereign. The making of *Markham* his Lieu- " tenant hath more vexed and disquieted the King, " than his former presumption in embarking, ex- " pressly against the King's commandment, in one " of his own vessels, to the scandal of his honour, " and the hazard of the treaty, whereof no man can " better judge than yourself, that were as found a " register, as ever dealt in any business. The King " hath reason to marvel very much, that no man " could be able to discharge that office saving *Mark- " ham*, that did first invent the practice of breaking " up the bed-chamber door with a petard. For be- " side the weakness of affection and duty, which " appeareth in this choice, the King may take a very " probable exception against those companies that " serve on that side, howsoever they pretend desire to " make themselves more able afterwards to serve the " State, when the commanders make their special elec- " tion of such instruments. I need not wish you to " have an eye, that have already all the eyes of *Ar- " gus*, upon these actions and ends: but I will assure " you, that it is not the least use, that can be made " of your judicious endeavours, to observe what

(1) *Ibid.* p. 496.

" time

"time and measure they keep with the music of
 "their own estate, that for the time, *tanquam per-*
 "*sonati bistriones*, dance the pipe of another."

Sir Griffin Markbam, mentioned in this letter to have been appointed by Lord Arundel his lieutenant, had been condemned in 1603, for being concerned with the Lord Grey, Mr. George Brooke, and others, in a design to surprize the King and Court (u); but was reprieved on the scaffold (w), and afterwards pardoned.

Sir George Carew, who was designed Embassador to the Court of France, having been obliged to Sir Thomas Edmondes, in some respects, for that employment, took an opportunity, on the 9th of October 1605, of writing to him (x), and offering him his service in that Kingdom. *You may, says he, claim it of right, for that you know you came to the first christening of it; and yourself were the first god-father, that undertook for it at Salisbury house, even upon the very first birth, being a matter that, at my coming thither, I little imagined of.*

Sir Thomas Parry, who was still at Paris, gave Sir Thomas Edmondes, on the 10th of October 1605, N. S. (z), warning of some designs then concerting among the English Priests, "Our Priests are very busy about petitions to be exhibited to the King's Majesty at this Parliament, and *some further designs upon refusal.* These matters are *secretly managed by intelligence with their colleagues in those parts, where you reside*, and with the *two Nuncios.* I think it were necessary for his Majesty's service, that you found means to have privy spies amongst them,

(u) Secretary Cecil to Mr. Winwood, from the Court at Winchester, 3d October 1603. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 8.

(w) Ibid. sp. 11.

(x) Sir Thomas Edmondes's MS. State-Papers, Vol. III. p. 483.

(z) Sir Thomas Edmondes's MS. State-Papers, Vol. III. p. 505.

234 *View of the Negotiations between*

“to discover their negotiations. *Somewhat is a*
 “*present in hand amongst these desperate hypocrites*
 “which, I trust, God shall divert, by the vigilant
 “care of his Majesty’s faithful servants and friend
 “abroad, and prudence of his council at home.—
 “The Earl of *Dunbar* intends very speedily to pal
 “for the Archduke’s service with his forces.”

The Earl of *Salisbury* likewise, on the 17th of
 October 1605, wrote, from *Whitehall*, an answer to
 Sir *Thomas Edmondes*’s letter to him of the 9th of
 that month above-mentioned: “Because, *says his*
 “*Lordship (a)*, I have imparted unto you some part
 “of my conceit concerning the insolencies of the
 “Priests and *Jesuits*, whose mouths we cannot stop
 “better, than by contemning their vain and malici-
 “cious discourses; only the evil, which biteeth, is
 “the poisoned bite, wherewith every youth is taken
 “that cometh among them; which liberty, as
 “wrote before, must, for one cause or other, be re-
 “trenched.”

Mr. *Winwood*, on the 19th of the same month
 wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, from the *Hague (b)*
 that Sir *Robert Drury* had, for want of a passport
 from the States, been seized in passing by *Lillo*, and
 sent to *Middleburgh* to the States of *Zealand*; and
 his trunks being opened in his presence, there were
 found two letters from the King of *Spain*, the one
 to the Archduke, and the other to the Marquis of
Spinola, both in his special favour, to be received in
 service with extraordinary respect. “These letters
 “adds Mr. *Winwood*, translated into *French*, with the
 “copy of your Lordship’s passport, were sent from
 “*Zealand* to the States General, who, communi-
 “cating the matter unto me, have moved me with
 “great instance, that because now the times are full
 “of dangerous practices, and that the enemy doth

(a) Ibid. p. 579.

(b) Ibid. p. 528.

“mak

“ make choice of our nation to employ in these
 “ services, I would intreat your Lordship, in their
 “ name, to forbear for a while the grant of your
 “ passports into the Provinces, under the favour
 “ whereof their State may receive prejudice, con-
 “ trary, they know, to that good intention, which
 “ your Lordship doth bear to their proceedings,
 “ and doth desire to carry in all your own courses.”

Sir *Robert Drury* had attended the Lord Admiral in his extraordinary embassy into *Spain*, and was one of those Gentlemen, who, as it was said, by his Lordship's own recommendation, had pensions granted them by that Court, to serve in the *Low Countries*: Sir *Robert*'s pension being a large one (c).

Sir *Thomas Edmondes* was careful to observe the Earl of *Salisbury*'s directions, in his Lordship's letter to him of the 10th of *October*, with relation to the Pope's Nuncio at *Brussels*: And yet, says he, in his letter from thence of the 23d of that month (d), *under your Lordship's favour, I think it not amiss to entertain afar off, by second means, his civil professions, for the use of his Majesty's service; because out of his passion against the Jesuits (howsoever he doth not let to stand in awe of the power of their credit to do harm at Rome) he is content sometimes to discover many of their practices.*

Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, though absent, was now chosen Member for *Wilton* in *Wiltshire* (e), in the Parliament, which was to have met at *Westminster* on *Tuesday November 5th 1605*, but prevented by the discovery of the Gun-powder Plot, of which the Earl of *Salisbury* wrote to him, from *Whitehall*, a very particular account on the 9th of that month (f), inclosing a copy of the letter sent to Lord *Monteagle*,

(c) Sir *Charles Cornwallis* to the Earl of *Salisbury*, from *Madrid*. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 96.

(d) Sir *Tho. Edmondes*'s MS. *State-Papers*, Vol. III. p. 531.

(e) *Ibid.* p. 565, & 579.

(f) *Ibid.* p. 599.

(e) *Ibid.*

advising

236 *View of the Negotiations between*

advising him not to come to Parliament (g), and of the examination of *Guy Faux* (b). And the next day, *November 10.* his Lordship wrote 'again to him (i): " Forasmuch as, by daily examinations, it " doth appear, that there is great cause to suspect, " that *Owen* hath been made privy to this horrible " conspiracy, I think it very expedient now, for his " Majesty's service, that you do inform the Arch- " duke of it, and put him to the trial of the sincerity of his extraordinary professions towards his " Majesty, by shewing the horribleness of the fact; " and requiring at his hands, whether he would not " give orders to make stay of the said *Owen* in " some place of safety, until it may further appear, " what cause we shall have to charge him in this " action, and then to leave it to the Archduke's " own judgment, upon the proofs thereof, what " course he shall think fit to hold with him. This " you may press something earnestly with the Arch- " duke, and put him to the wall, that when here- " after we shall have cause to charge *Owen* (as we " have very probable suspicion already) the Arch- " dukes shall not excuse themselves by alleging, that " he is fled, and not in their power.

" P.S. You shall do well to keep *Hobocque's* packet in your hands, until you have spoken " with the Archdukes of this matter, to make " all things sure."

The Earl likewise, on the 14th of *November*, wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* (k), that *Faux* had now directly accused *Owen* to have been made privy by himself, not only to the *general designs*, to do somewhat for relief of the Catholic cause, but particu-

(g) Ibid. p. 593.
(k) Ibid. p. 613.

(b) Ibid. p. 595.

(i) Ibid. p. 607.

larly to the detestable act of blowing up the Parliament-house by gun-powder.

Sir Thomas Edmondes, on the 19th of that month, wrote the Earl of *Salisbury* an account (*l*), that he had acquainted the Archduke with the discovery of the plot and with *Owen's* being concerned in it; and that the latter was taken into custody by the Archduke's order. "My speech, *adds he*, with the Archduke "of that horrible treason, gave me an opportunity "to speak very freely unto him of the common "practices of the *English*, which are entertained on "this side, by telling him what I had discovered of "their demeanours and malicious complots, where- "of I had before informed the President *Richardot* "in his absence: And withal, I made bold to tell "him, how clearly it doth appear, that all the prac- "tices, which are broached against his Majesty's "State, have their chief hatching and springing "from the *English*, which are only entertained here, "but are still used by some Ministers of this State "for further purposes than his Majesty hath reason "to like of. He answered, that the relief which is "granted them here, is only in regard of their re- "ligion. But I told him, that it was sufficiently "known unto him, how they have abused the fa- "vour, which they have sought under that pretence. "I made request also, that one *Bayly* might likewise "be apprehended, being the person, that doth act "all the business under *Owen*, for the making of the "dispatches of their Common-wealth in all lan- "guages, and keeping of the cyphers; for the "which he is reputed to be a very sufficient Secre- "tary, and therein much to exceed *Owen*. But as "he cannot surpass him in malice, so likewise he is "not therein inferior to him. The Secretary *Man-* "cicidor is *Owen's* special supporter, who, as I un-

(*l*) Ibid. p. 641.

"derstand,

238 *View of the Negotiations between*

“derstand, hath been to visit *Owen*, since his be-
 “in prison, and hath been a means to procure
 “further enlargement of liberty than he was allo-
 “at his first commitment.”

The same day Sir *Thomas Edmondes* wrote
 other letter to the Earl of *Salisbury* (m), that
Barnes, who was employed to make relation to
 Nuncio of the proceedings of *Roman catholics*
England, had offered to make a discovery of the
 finess, wherein he should be employed, and
 communicated a letter, written by *Dr. Giffard*, fi-
Lisle, to the Secretary of the Pope's Nuncio, *wb*
in, says Sir *Thomas*, your Lordship may first see a
 charity they intend towards your Lordship's self,
 in the rest, the course of their cunning and ingen-
 projects——It may please your Lordship, if it
 so seem good unto your Lordship's judgment, that,
 making use of that letter, the name of *Dr. Giff*
 may be concealed, as much as may be possible;
 that I am of late entered into a correspondence a-
 him, which I hope to make to be of good use for
 Majesty's service; and I would be glad to mak
 tryal, how he will acquit himself therein, in regard
 the extraordinary professions he hath made.

Barnes was at last engaged by Sir *Thomas* to
 to *England*, who sent with him a letter, on the 2
 of *November*, recommending him to the Earl
Salisbury (n).

Sir *Edward Hoby*, a Gentleman of great learning
 and author of several books in defence of the *P*
 testant religion, and Constable of *Queenborough*
 castle in the isle of *Sheppey*, was one of Sir *Thom*
Edmondes's particular correspondents; and, on the
 19th of *November* 1605, wrote him a letter of
 occurrences in *England*, of twelve pages in folio (o)

(m) Ibid. p. 655.
 p. 630.

(n) Ibid. p. 659.

(o) II

in which he observes, that, on the first of that month, Monsr. *de Beaumont*, the *French* Embassador in *England*, departed towards *France*, having left behind him a reasonable distaste here : and that
 “ such, as are apt to interpret all things to the worst,
 “ will not believe other, but that *Monteagle* might,
 “ in policy, cause the letter to be sent, fearing the
 “ discovery already of the letter, the rather that one
 “ *Thomas Ward*, a principal man about him, is sus-
 “ pected to be accessary to the treason. When *Jon-*
 “ *son* [i. e. *Guy Faux*] was brought to the King’s
 “ presence, the King asked him, how he could con-
 “ spire so hideous a treason against his children, and
 “ so many innocent souls, which never offended
 “ him. He answered, that it was true ; but a dan-
 “ gerous disease required a desperate remedy. He
 “ told some of the *Scots*, that his intent was to have
 “ blown them back again into *Scotland*.—Some
 “ say, that *Northumberland* received the like letter
 “ that *Monteagle* did, but concealed it. He [*Faux*]
 “ hath further confessed, that there be many Gentle-
 “ men, which at this time serve the Archduke, that
 “ have been made privy, that they should be pre-
 “ pared for the day for an insurrection ; and that he
 “ verily thinketh they will come shortly over by de-
 “ grees.”

Mr. *Dudley Carleton*, who was at *Paris* at the discovery of the plot, being soon after summoned, by letter from the Lords of the Council, to return to *England*, was in some perplexity, what might be the occasion of it at so critical conjuncture, especially as he had been, in the first year of the King, Secretary to the Earl of *Northumberland* *, who was in custody, upon suspicion of being in some respect privy

* Mr. *Carleton* to Sir *Thomas Edmond*, from *London*, July 11, 1607. Sir *Thomas Edmond*’s MS. State-Papers, Vol IV.

to the plot : and this perplexity of his was heightened by the behaviour of Sir *Thomas Parry* toward him, with whom he seems to have been but upon ill terms. In his way to *England* he wrote the following letter to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* from *Calais* (p).

My very good Lord,

“ You may marvel at the contrarieties in every
 “ letter, but will now, I presume, marvel more at
 “ the occasion. By my last I wrote to you, how I
 “ was tyed to a task at *Paris*, by reason of Lord
 “ *Norreys*’s sickness, and not likely of long to stay
 “ from thence. On *Friday* last, with the dispatch,
 “ which was sent to the Ambassador, of the news in
 “ *England*, there came a particular letter from the
 “ Lords of the Council, by which I was warned
 “ home. The stile of it was, they had use of me for
 “ his Majesty’s service : but hearing of my Lord of
 “ *Northumberland*’s committing to the bishop of
 “ *Canterbury*’s, though I see nothing to be feared,
 “ *timeo tamen*. And yet went I not upon sure
 “ ground for my own innocency, as I presume on,
 “ in so barbarous an attempt, it were not a good
 “ phrase should draw in such post out of a place of
 “ security into the midst of danger. The Embassa-
 “ dor [Sir *Thomas Parry*] did so wisely handle the
 “ matter, that I was sung out of his house with a
 “ psalm, and every one of his swains took their last
 “ leave of me ; and, being to have audience of the
 “ King the next day at *St. Germain*s, was so careful
 “ to set me forward, that he staid a good while to
 “ see me on horseback ; and, for more surety, gave
 “ charge to the Postmaster of *Dover*, who brought
 “ his letters, to accompany me. And, before I
 “ parted, it was bruited all over the town, and ad-
 “ vertised me by some, that heard it from one of his

ephews, that in his dispatch he had * * to move
 by fair persuasions and hopes of * * to hastes
 return ; but that I should find * *. I am not
 ignorant, how nice these affairs are ; and how a
 word let slip, by indiscretion, or passion, from a
 great man's mouth, is enough to ruin a poor ser-
 vant. But no doubts or discouragements shall
 make me despair of good treatment. And I shall
 count it a double unhappiness, if, by any mis-
 adventure, that should befall me, the old Legate
 could have subject to boast of negotiating me
à la mer. I only wait wind and weather ; and so
 will send me good shipping. Thus much I write
 your Lordship, because the bruit, I know, will
 be posted you from *Paris*, as I look by that old
 man's buxardly folly to be in every Gazette. But
 you need take no alarm, for I was never a practi-
 cal, nor thought a fit man in all my life to be
 the head of an ill council. Monsr. *Beaumont* was on
 his way to *Paris*, as I came ; but I saw him not.
 I met the young Lord *Ross* going thither, with in-
 tention to travel three years. Betwixt this and
Calais I encountered two *Englishmen* in post,
 who, because they came so slenderly provided,
 leaving nothing behind their postilion, and con-
 sidered themselves from me, without speaking or
 answering, whilst we changed horses, I suspect
 to be stolen over. One of them looked like *Francis*
Ham ; but the speech is, he is in the *Tower*.
 As I said here, that *Thomas Percy*, in his dressing,
 had slain himself with the barber's instrument :
 that *Johnson* either will not or cannot confess much of
 conspiracy, though he hath been thrice racked
 to the death ; and that certain women are appre-
 hended upon suspicion. Your Lordship shall hear
 from me by the first commodity, how I find all at

R

“ home.

242 *View of the Negotiations between*

" home. This night I hope to pass : and so I com-
 " mit you to God's protection.

" From *Calais* this first day of *December*, 1605.
 " N. S.

Your Lordship's to do you service,

Dudley Carleton.

The Earl of *Salisbury*, on the 2d of *December* 1605. wrote from *Whitehall* a letter to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* (q), in which he said: " His Majesty
 " hath lately, and very particularly, acknowledged
 " the Archdukes sincere dealing to their Embassa-
 " dor : and indeed they could not have escaped some
 " ill judgment in the world, if that creature *Owen*,
 " favoured and supported in their Court, had not
 " been forthcoming, seeing how notoriously his
 " practices (ever since the late Queen's death) for an
 " invasion shall be laid open, besides his particular
 " knowledge and dealing with some of these conspi-
 " rators in the infernal treason of the powder. In
 " both which, because you may know what to give
 " out against any contestation of his friends, this is
 " that I do warrant you to deliver, upon the forfeiture
 " of my judgment in your opinion, that it shall ap-
 " pear as evident as the sun in the clearest day, that
 " *Stanley*, *Baldwyn*, and *Owen*, since the death of the
 " Queen, were acquainted with a motion from the
 " Catholics to the King of *Spain*, for sending an
 " army into *England* ; and in this matter of the gun-
 " powder, that *Baldwyn* by means of *Owen*, and
 " *Owen* directly of himself, have been particular con-
 " spirators. And for Sir *William Stanley*, though
 " you may forbear a while to avow him to have de-

(q) Ibid. p. 694.

" personally with any of the conspirators in it, yet
 " you may assure the Archdukes, that he was so far
 " upon it, as he was advised *to be ready, at this Par-*
 " *liament, to come over into* England, upon the first
 " advertisement from them. And therefore you may
 " say, that although, by virtue now of his Majesty's
 " commandment, you do only demand the persons
 " of *Baldwyn* and *Owen* to be sent over; yet you do
 " move likewise, that the Archdukes will make stay
 " of *Sir William Stanley*, to be forthcoming, until
 " his Majesty may inform the Archdukes further
 " what he may be charged with. But forasmuch as
 " you have seemed to insinuate one thing, whereof the
 " Archdukes might be jealous; which is, that some
 " other treasons and practices may be objected to *Owen*,
 " besides this late monster; you may therein assure,
 " that neither he, nor *Baldwyn*, nor any other, whom
 " the Archdukes shall send over, shall undergo any
 " trial, or suffer any prejudice, in life or restraint,
 " for any other crime whatever, but shall be safely
 " remanded again wheresoever the Archdukes shall
 " require the same; although his Majesty is content
 " the Archdukes should know these other causes,
 " which might exasperate his Majesty against them,
 " being committed in his time.

" And now, because I speak of the practices of
 " these persons under the Archdukes with the King
 " of *Spain*, you shall inform him particularly, of
 " the great contentment his Majesty taketh, consi-
 " dering their residence there, and the aptness of
 " those, that love not their amity, to scandalize the
 " same, that the very conspirators themselves do ac-
 " knowledge the Archdukes not only free from
 " foreknowledge of that employment into *Spain*
 " about the invasion; but also that the King of
 " *Spain* himself refused their overtures, and disliked
 " the same; requiring them to settle their own
 " thoughts upon no other expectations to be reliev-

244 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ ed by any hostile acts from him, unless the peace
 “ wherein his Commissioners, and the Archduke
 “ were employed, should break off: Only this
 “ ference he gave them, to resort to the *Constable*
 “ the *Low Countries*, whom he had given charge
 “ do the Catholics all the good offices he could
 “ wards their Sovereign, by recommending them
 “ such a sort, as one Prince may do for the subject
 “ of another.

“ For any other things, which may be fit for y
 “ to know, and to answer, if you shall be deman
 “ ed, what farther persons are discovered, beca
 “ divers Noblemen are committed, as the *Viscount*
 “ *Montagu*, Lord *Mordaunt*, and Lord *Stewart*
 “ you may shortly answer this, that this practice
 “ avowed by the conspirators to be taken in ha
 “ for the cause of Religion; and that, in all the tr
 “ terous consultations, they were very careful to p
 “ serve such Noblemen, as were Catholics, from
 “ blow; for which purpose *Catesby* naming the
 “ three aforesaid, and *Percy* others, it appeared, th
 “ those three were absent without just occasion; a
 “ that *Catesby* had told his complices, which are l
 “ alive, a good while before the discovery, that,
 “ was sure, those three should be absent. Whe
 “ upon those men’s religion considered, and the co
 “ tinual conversation, in which the principal conf
 “ rators had lived these three years last past w
 “ these men, their dearest friends; his Majesty, a
 “ this State, could do no less than they have doi
 “ in making sure of their persons; which bei
 “ granted, you know there is no other prison
 “ the Nobility, especially in any question for m
 “ ter of State, but the *Tower of London*; a matt
 “ wherein I enlarge myself for the form; beca
 “ you may the better satisfy your own judgment
 “ the like course taken with the Earl of *Northbu*
 “ *berland*, on whom though it cannot be cast, t
 “ t]

" that he was absent ; yet because *Percy* only named
 " him and the Lord *Monteagle*, and that *Monteagle*
 " had a letter of warning, together with the circum-
 " stances of *Percy*'s inwardness, and his coming out
 " of the North three days before the time, and his
 " resort to the Earl not twenty hours before this
 " villainy should have been acted, the presumption
 " hath been thought sufficient likewise to commit
 " him to the like place and custody ; and thus much
 " the rather, because the Earl, upon the death of the
 " Queen, and after, had declared often to the King,
 " that the Catholics had offered themselves to de-
 " pend upon him, in all their courses, so far, as his
 " Majesty making him know his pleasure, he
 " doubted not but to contain them from any ex-
 " tremity.

" Thus you have as much, as may satisfy all re-
 " ports of more or less than I have written ; where-
 " in, assure yourself, that such is the justice of this
 " time, as if no more appear than this, which may
 " well deserve as much as is done, there shall be no
 " such rules of rigorous policy practised upon a No-
 " bleman, of his blood and quality, as not to set him
 " free again, without touch of his estate ; assuring
 " you, for mine own part, that although it is not
 " improbable, that *Percy* gave him some general
 " warning, according to his resolution with his con-
 " federates, and that there is no direct proof, whe-
 " ther the Earl would have been present at the Par-
 " liament or not, because the hour was prevented
 " of the execution, wherein it may be said, he might
 " in discretion have forbore to offer any shew of
 " absence till the very instant ; yet I believe, that
 " *Percy* never durst acquaint a Nobleman, of his
 " birth, alliance, and disposition, with so unnatural
 " and savage a plot as that, wherein so many, whom
 " himself loved, must have perished. Only this is
 " the misfortune, that *Catesby* and *Percy* being dead,

246 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ his innocency, or his guiltiness, must both depend
“ upon circumstances of other persons and time.

“ *P. S.* I thank you for your care in entertaining
“ that overture, which may happily bring to
“ the practices against me ; which as I contemn
“ respect of the zeal I carry to the cause, for w
“ they hate me ; so do I assure you I have as m
“ circumstances to confirm it, as ever so poor a
“ as I had. But I know my anchor-hold, and I
“ all to his Divine pleasure.

The Lord *Mordaunt*, and the Lord *Ston*
mentioned in this letter, were imprisoned in the *T*
for some time, and at last redeemed by a fine in
Star-chamber (*a*): But the Earl of *Northumb*
was not only fined, on the 27th of *June* 1606
that Chamber, thirty thousand pounds (*b*), but c
nued prisoner in the *Tower* till the year 1619, w
he was set at liberty by the interest of the Lord
afterwards Earl of *Carlisle* *, who had married
younger daughter *Lucy*, celebrated in the poem
Waller, and other poets of that age. During his
prisonment he amused himself with the convers
of some of the most eminent Mathematicians
Philosophers of those times, particularly Mr. *Fl*
Harriot, whose *Artis analyticae praxis* is dedi
to his Lordship; Mr. *Walter Warner*, Mr. *J*
author of the treatise on the Globes, and Mr.
thanael Torperley; to all whom his Lordship
pensions for their encouragement in their studie
Several years after he had been confined, vi
1611, a new discovery was made, which broug
Lordship to another examination. The affair is
represented by the Earl of *Salisbury*, on the 25

(2) Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi, p. 5. and *Arthur*
W's Life of King *James I.* p. 33. edit. *London*. 1653. (*b*)
den, ubi supra. * *Wilton*, ubi supra, p. 130. (c)
Alexander Rhoades works, Treat. 2. Lect. 26. and *Wood's*
Quæry. Vol. I. fol. 410, 451, 462, and 566.

July 1611, to Sir *Tho. Edmondes*.^(d) : There was one *Elkes*, a servant of the Earl of *Northumberland*, and one, who was no stranger to his secrets, who complained to some private friends (who yet kept it with no privacy), that he stood in some danger of his life, seeing he observed his Lord's affection to grow somewhat cold towards him ; which, he conceived, could proceed from no other cause but jealousy, lest he should reveal some secrets, which he had revealed to him concerning the Powder-treason. This being discovered, the Earl was examined, and confessed two things: The one, that, after he was committed to the *Tower*, and before he came to the *Star-chamber*, he wrote to his brother Sir *Alan Percy*, to take it upon him, that, by his means, *Percy* was admitted a Gentleman-pensioner to his Majesty, and suffered to escape the oath: The other, that he was made acquainted with the hiring of that house, from whence the mine was made: Both which facts he had strongly denied before. *And though they be not, says Lord Salisbury, of such nature (in regard they do not necessarily enforce the knowledge of the fact) as to call him to a tryal for life or lands; yet they serve to justify the former proceedings, those points being now cleared, which, at that time, were but presumed.* His Lordship died on the 5th of *November* 1632, and left, by his Lady, *Dorothy*, eldest daughter to *Walter Devereux*, Earl of *Essex*, two sons, *Algernon*, afterwards Earl of *Northumberland*, and Lord High-Admiral; and *Henry*, created, by King *Charles I.* Lord *Percy* of *Alnwick*, in the county of *Northumberland*; and two daughters, *Dorothy*, married to *Robert*, the second Earl of *Leicester*, and *Lucy*, Countess of *Carlisle*, above-mentioned.

Some new discoveries, relating to the plot, being made by Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, he gave the Earl of

(d) Sir *Tho. Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, Vol. VII. p. 347.

248 *View of the Negotiations between*

Salisbury an account of them in a letter of the 5th of December 1605 (e). “ I think it my duty, *says he*, “ to present to your Lordship’s consideration any “ material new circumstances, which come to my “ knowledge, that may serve to make further disco- “ very of the designs of the late intended execrable “ treason, although the same be already otherwise “ sufficiently manifested. Some, which call to mind “ what course there was first held in the levying of “ the *English* regiment, which serveth here, and “ could not, as they profess, then foresee the pro- “ jected practices of that time, have now told me, “ that, when they were suitors to have place in the “ same regiment, they were directly told, that they “ failed in the right way of prevailing; for that “ they did not seek their recommendation from the “ *Jesuits*, and under them from *Catesby*, who had the “ special charge to employ himself for the raising of “ the said regiment; and to procure, that Sir *Charles* “ *Percy* might command the same. And, consider- “ ing that their first drift was, if they had not “ been disappointed therein, to have employed no “ other, for commanders in the said Regiment, than “ such as were the chosen instruments of the *Jesuits*, “ he verily believeth, that they did, at that time, de- “ sign, that *this Regiment should serve for the second-* “ *ing of their enterprizes after the execution thereof.* “ Here do still remain, both of captains and others, “ some as ill-affected members, as could have been “ chosen for that purpose; and, amongst the rest, “ one Captain *James Blount*, who is a very violent “ and malicious spirit, and hath been a most inward “ dependur upon *Catesby* and Sir *Edward Baineham*, of “ whom there is very probable suspicion to believe, “ that he was not unacquainted with the plot; and “ it is thought, that he is gone to *Rome* to acquaint

(e) Sir *Theo. Edmondes*’s MS. State-Papers, Vol. III. p. 710.

“ the

“ the confederates there with the affurance thereof,
 “ according to their conceits at that time. It is
 “ lately advertifed hither from *Rome*, by a fufficient
 “ perfon, that there was a likelihood of *Parsons*’s com-
 “ ing into thefe countries, which was judged there
 “ to import fome very extraordinary occafion; and,
 “ as there is reafon now to think, it was to attend
 “ their expected harveft in *England*. It is, more-
 “ over, faid, that *Parsons* was in hand to fend down
 “ into thefe parts, for fome extraordinary fervice, one
 “ *Elliot*, that hath long lived with him in *Spain*,
 “ and is as dangerous and enterprifing a fellow as
 “ can be. It is here conceived by thofe, which can
 “ well judge of thefe men’s purpofes, that their jour-
 “ ney intended fome very fpecial commiffion; but
 “ it is likely, that thofe defigns will be now changed,
 “ as matters have fince fallen out.”

Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, in his letter to the Earl of *Salisbury*, of the 20th of the fame month (*f*), gave a farther account of Father *Parsons*, who took his journey from *Rome* with a defign, as it was thought, to have come into the *Low Countries*; but, meeting with the news of the failing of the enterprize of *England*, was much aftonifhed with it, and returned prefently to *Rome*. It was alfo conceived, that Sir *Edmund Bainebam*’s paffage in poft into *Italy*, was exprefly to meet *Parsons*; but he returned, with the like fpeed, into the *Low Countries*, and remained for a while fecretly at *Lifle*.

Owen, and *Baldwyn* the Jefuit, who were charged with being privy to the Gunpowder-plot, being demanded by Sir *Thomas Edmondes* to be delivered up into King *James*’s hands, the Archduke refufed it; though his Majefty promifed, that they fhould not be called in queftion for any crime antecedent to that plot; and that the proceeding againft them fhould

be only in the presence of the Archduke's Ambassador, without using any kind of torture, but on to convict them by such proofs, as should be produced against them; or, if it should otherwise fall out, that they should be sent back to *Brussels*. The Archduke's answer was, that, with respect to *Baldwyn* they could not meddle with him, he being a religious man; but that, by the orders of the Church, which they were bound to obey, they must refer him to be censured by his superiors. And, as for *Owen*, they must wait for the directions of the King of *Spain* relating to him, because he was a more immediate servant to that Crown, than to the Archduke (g).
 was long before Sir *Thomas Edmondes* could persuade the Court of *Brussels* to believe the truth of the conspiracy, because the Catholics were interested in it, but sometimes they would have it to be an artifice of the *Puritans* against them; and then a design of the *Hollanders*, who were enemies to Monarchies, have reduced the State of *England* to the same condition as their own of a Commonwealth. But, last, when they could no longer contest the fact, they pretended, that *it was the work of the Devil, and they pressed to banish and extirpate the Catholic religion of England* (h). King *James* therefore continued to insist, that *Baldwyn*, *Baily*, *Owen's* associate, who kept his papers and cyphers, and Sir *William Stanley* might remain forthcoming; and that for *Owen*, he would wait the King of *Spain's* resolution; but that Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, his Ambassador, might examine *Owen's* papers, at least such of them, as were subsequent to the time when *Owen* was made acquainted with the plot. But his Majesty understanding, that the Archduke disliked this, fearing, that

(g) Sir *Thos. Edmondes* to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, Ambassador in *Spain*, from *Brussels* 27 Decemb. 1605. O. S. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 183. (h) *Ibid.* p. 183, 184.

there

thereby many other intelligences and correspondence might be discovered, to the prejudice of his State, he thought proper not to trouble himself farther about it ; but to leave it to the Archduke's discretion, considering how little the visiting of those papers might avail his Majesty, which he persuaded himself had been well visited before ; and the liberty, which *Owen* had had in prison, to be visited and counselled by all his friends, especially by *Mancidor*, the *Spanish* Secretary, and others of the *Jesuit* faction, who were zealous for his protection (i). The Court of *Spain* at last sent orders for the tryal of *Owen* at *Brussels* ; but King *James* refusing to prosecute him there, he was discharged out of custody (k), and afterwards went to *Madrid*, where he arrived on the 29th of *September* 1606 (l). Father *Baldwyn* likewise escaped without punishment, till *August* 1610, when he was seized, as he was passing through the *Palatinate*, and delivered to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, who procured him to be sent to *England* (m), where he was kept prisoner till *Nov.* 1612, when he was exchanged for Mr. *Mole*, the Lord *Rosse*'s tutor, who was in the inquisition at *Rome* (n).

The design of transporting the *English* Regiment in the Archduke's service into *England*, upon the execution of the plot, is confirmed by Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s letter to the Earl of *Salisbury*, of the 23d of *January* 1605-6 (o), wherein he observes, that

(i) Earl of *Salisbury* to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, from *Whiteball* 30th *January* 1605-6. Ibid. p. 189, 190. (k) Sir *Thomas Edmondes* to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, from *Brussels*, 22 *June* 1606, O. S. Ibid. p. 233. (l) Sir *Charles Cornwallis* to the Lords of the Privy-council, *Madrid* 30th *September* 1606, O. S. Ibid. p. 258. (m) Sir *Ralph Winwood* to the Earl of *Salisbury*, 22d *Aug.* 1610, O. S. and to Mr. *John Chamberlaine* 23 *Aug.* 1610. Vol. III. Ibid. p. 210, 211. (n) Ibid. p. 407. (o) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, Vol. III. p. 13.

252 *View of the Negotiations between*

he had, in his last letter of the 7th of that month, informed his Lordship "what Captain *James Blount*, " who was very inward with *Catesby* and Sir *Edmund Baineham*, did privately confess, of the knowledge he had of the design of the conspirators in the late treason, to have transported the *English Regiment* into *England*, for the favouring of their intended practice; the which information was first brought unto me by Sir *Griffin Markham*, to whom *Blount*, " out of confidence, did discover himself; but Sir *Griffin* desired it might be forborne for a while to produce him for author thereof." Sir *Thomas* observes likewise, that Sir *William Windsor* was privy to that design.

The Earl of *Salisbury* wrote, on the 12th of *February* 1605-6, to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* (p), that his Majesty's people in general, but, above all, in particular the Lower House of Parliament, were incapable almost of any other belief, than a mere condemnation of those *English* troops, which served the Archduke, to have been destined for the *seconds* of the Gunpowder-treason; and, in that respect, they earnestly pressed, that not only none should be suffered any more to go thither, but also to revoke those, that were there in service already, " considering how " dangerous it might prove to this State, to have so " many ill-affected in Religion enabled in means, and " trained in martial services, which might one day " convert their swords to the prejudice of the established Government; and that even all the Seminars breed treasonable spirits."

Sir *George Carew*, who was arrived at *Paris*, where he was Ambassador, began now a correspondence with Sir *Thomas Edmondes*; and, on the 14th of *February* 1605-6, O. S. wrote to him from thence (q), that " the conspiracy of *England* they do here un-

(p) Ibid. p. 35.

(q) Ibid. p. 49.

" doubtedly

subtly attribute to the *Catholiques d'Espagne*; the King [of France] himself seeming very well pleased with the forwardness of Monsr. de Vic, in delivering unto me one at Calais, who had confessed to have fled thither, because he would reveal such as he knew guilty in England; saying, that Baldwin and Owen, he was assured, would not be delivered." The same Gentleman also, in a letter the 16th of the same month to Mr. Winwood, observed (r), that there was news lately brought to us out of Germany, of a massacre contrived against use of the Religion, in the country of Valais, by a *capucin*: And that one of the plot, desiring to save friend of his, dealt with him to depart out of the country for a time; and, being pressed to tell the reason, discovered it: whereby the Chief of the Religion assembling together, surprised the principal persons concerned in the design, two days before the time of the massacre; whom, having in their hands, they were contented to let go, on their oath never to receive again any *Capuckin* or *Jesuit* into their country. They do seem, says Sir George, to hold there, that this had some dependence on the plot in England, and should have seconded that devilish enterprize, that a astonishment might have been the greater, coming from sundry parts of the world.

Sir Henry Wotton likewise, who was sent Ambassador to Venice in July 1604 (s), corresponded with Sir Thomas Edmondes, to whom he wrote from thence the 20th of January 1605-6 (t), an account of the death of Marino Grimani the Doge, and the election of the Cavalier Leonardo Donato, on the 10th of that month, into that post (v); "a wife and beaten man

(r) *Wotton's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 196. (s) *Ibid.* p. 25.
(t) *Sir Thomas Edmondes's MS. State-Papers*, Vol. III. p. 5.
(v) *Interdicti Veneti Historia*, Authore Paulo Sarpio, Veneto, 1613. edit. Cantabrigia 1626, in 4to.

254 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ in the world, *says he*, eloquent, resolute, provident. And of all this the State seemeth to have very much need, being fallen into terms of great contumacy with the Pope; whereupon hath ensued a monitorial Brief, summoning the Signory to obedience, and, in defect thereof, menacing the Excommunicatory sentence, which indeed they have incurred *ipso facto*, or *lata sententia*, as the Canonists term it. And therefore the manner of proceeding with them hath been somewhat indulgent, as hath been very well urged by the *Nuncio* here. The causes of the breach have been double of *Decime*, prohibition of immoveable legacies in holy use, and the like; but especially the laying of secular hands upon men of the Clergy, as on an Abbot accused of many foul crimes, and a *Canonico* of *Vicenza*, for dishonouring a virgin; which last is, in this corrupted country, esteemed the most heinous and prejudicial to Papal authority of all imaginable causes. They have here chosen the Cavalier *Duodo* (who was sent to congratulate with his Majesty) Extraordinary Embassador to the Pope about this business; so applicable are their instruments to contrary offices.” Sir Henry wrote again to Sir Thomas Edmondes, on the 17th of February, N. S. following (*w*), upon the subject of the dispute between the *Venetians* and the Pope; in which he observed, that *whereas there were two remedies; the one, to do that, which the Pope desireth; the other, to give him sufficient reason, why they should not do it*; the *Venetians* had resolved, even from the beginning upon the second. “ And I must needs tell your Lordship, *says Sir Henry*, not in sport, but in very earnest, that this breach hath here put many kinds of men into work; the Politiques, how to find delays; the Canonists, how to find distinctions; the

(*u*) Sir Thomas Edmond's MS. State-Papers, Vol. III. p. 54.

“ Divines, how to find a new religion ; which last
 “ point they divided into two resolutions, either to
 “ force their *Latin* priests to say Mass after the ex-
 “ communication, or to pass to the *Greek* faith. Our
 “ new Prince is warm in the cause, and very well
 “ skilled in the *Roman* Court, where he hath been
 “ nine times in quality of Ambassador.”

Sir Griffin Markham continued his discoveries to Sir Thomas Edmondes concerning the Gunpowder-plot ; and, on the 1st of *March* 1605-6, *N. S.* informed him in a letter (*), that Captain Blount had declared to him at *Tilmon* soon after *Christmas*, that he thought him, Sir Griffin, not for their purpose. Sir Griffin asking, *What purpose? and whether he knew any thing of this plot, or not?* the Captain answered, *No, not of any thing, saving that, upon the execution, their Regiment would be carried over with it.*

This fact of the *English* Regiment in the Archduke's service being designed to be employed to second the execution of the plot, shews the scheme to have been more extensively laid, than has been generally represented by our Historians. And the extracts, which have been given above, from Sir Thomas Edmondes's letters to the Earl of *Salisbury*, will add new weight to what has been already published, in proof of the reality of that plot, which was never denied by the conspirators themselves, who suffered for it ; Sir Edward Digby even boasting, in all his letters, written during his imprisonment, and afterwards discovered, of his share in it, as an act of most meritorious zeal and piety. The *Papists* therefore, of later times, afford an instance of amazing scepticism, and equal assurance, who affect, without the least shadow of probability, to represent so complicated and deep-laid a conspiracy, as a mere ministerial and political con-

(*) Ibid. p. 99:

256 *View of the Negotiations between*

trivance, formed by the Earl of *Salisbury*, for the disgrace and ruin of the *Roman Catholic* religion in *England*.

The discovery of the plot occasioned the Parliament to injoin the *Oath of allegiance* to the King, and to enact several laws against *Popery*, and especially against the *Jesuits* and *Priests*, who, as the Earl of *Salisbury* observed (*a*), sought to bring all this into confusion; and particularly, to oblige all persons who should go out of the Kingdom, to serve some foreign Prince or State, to take the *Oath of Supremacy* at the ports; and, if they were persons of Quality, or of Command, to enter likewise into bonds of twenty pounds and upwards, according to the quality of the person, that they should not be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, nor entertain practice against the State (*b*). In passing these laws for the security of the *Protestant* Religion, the Earl of *Salisbury* exerted himself with distinguished zeal and vigour, which gained him great love and honour from the Kingdom, as appeared, in some measure, in the unusual attendance upon him at his installation into the *Order of the Garter* (*c*), on the 20th of *May* 1606. *Windsor* (*d*).

During the course of the year 1606, there are several letters of Sir *Thomas Edmondes* among his papers; but, in the collection of Sir *Ralph Winwood* (*e*), there is one of his to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, dated at *Brussels* 22d *June*, O. S. wherein he observes, with respect to *Owen*, and the other *English* fugitives there, that “ what they had suffered for the matter “ whereof they were accused, serveth but only to “ make them more and more recommendable; for

(*a*) Letter to Mr. *Winwood*, 7 *June* 1606. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 219. (*b*) Ibid. (*c*) Sir *Henry North* to Mr. *Winwood*, 4 *June* 1606. Ibid. p. 216. (*d*) Camdeni *Annales Regis Jacobi*, p. 5. (*e*) *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 233.

their opinions sway as effectually as ever they did,
 "In the carrying of all matters touching our nation
 "here . . . Concerning Captain *James Blount*, whom
 "your Lordship certified to be arrived in those parts;
 "it is true, as your Lordship writeth, that I had
 "commandment from his Majesty to require him to
 "make his repair into *England*, to answer unto such
 "matters, as were there to be objected against him;
 "being indeed detected (as some others of his coat
 "here are) to have designed to have carried away
 "the *English* Regiment into *England* for the assist-
 "ing of *Catesby's* enterprize (to whom he was crea-
 "ture) after the execution thereof: And, he refusing
 "to obey his Majesty's commandment therein, I
 "was commanded not to urge the delivery of him,
 "seeing the request was before denied for persons
 "that were notoriously culpable. And, according to
 "this precise direction given me, I dare take upon
 "me to advise your Lordship to govern yourself
 "likewise, not troubling yourself about him, than to
 "make him there known for such as he is." This
Blount was, in the beginning of the year 1606, sent
 by the King of *Spain* into the *Low Countries*, with
 a pension of fifty crowns a month, the *Spanish* Court
 secretly giving the best countenance and ear to those,
 who were worst affected to the King of Great Britain,
 and his government (f).

Since the return of Monsr. *de Beaumont* to *France*,
 in the beginning of *November* 1605, *Henry IV.* had
 no Embassador in *England* till *April* 1606. when he
 sent thither Monsr. *Anthony le Fevre de la Boderie* in
 that post, who was a man of such extraordinary me-
 rit, that the famous Monsr. *Arnaud d'Andilly*, who
 married his daughter, says (g), that no man in *France*

(f) Sir *Charles Cornwallis* to the Earl of *Salisbury*, Ibid. p.
 290. (g) *Memoires de Mess. Robert Arnaud d'Andilly*,
 écrites par lui-meme, Part. I. p. 94, 95. edit *Hambourg* 1734.

258 *View of the Negotiations between*

was thought, so capable as he of filling the place of Monfr. *de Villeroy*, if that should have become vacant. Monfr. *de la Boderie*'s letters, written to his Court during his embassy in *England*, are extant in manuscript, in the collection of the letters of several *French* Embassadors here, in the library of her late Majesty Queen *Caroline* in the palace of *St. James's*; and the letters to him from *Henry IV.* and *Messieurs de Villeroy* and *de Puisieux*, were published at *Amsterdam* in 1733. in two volumes in 8vo (*b*). These letters shew sufficiently the mean opinion, that the *French* Court had of King *James I.* and his Court, which were intirely at the devotion of the *Spaniards*, who were very liberal of their pensions to the *English* Ministers (*i*). The chief design of *Henry IV.*'s sending over Monfr. *de la Boderie* was, to prevent King *James I.* from entering into the measures of *Spain*, and abandoning the States General; and the new Embassador had orders, in the month of *July* after his arrival, to congratulate that King upon the discovery of a design against his Majesty's life; and to assure him (*k*), "that the King of *France* was as desirous of
 " his preservation and prosperity as his own; and
 " would always consider and treat King *James's*
 " enemies as his own: That he had frequently, and
 " upon various occasions, experienced the treachery
 " of the *Spanish* nation, as every person had done,
 " who had trusted them; it being natural to them
 " to prefer what might serve their pernicious and
 " ambitious designs to every other considerations
 " covering their malice, and abusing their neighbour,
 " under the pretext of piety and friendship, with so

(*b*) Under the title of *Lettres d'Henry IV. & de Mess. de Villeroy & de Puisieux, à Monfr. Antoine le Fevre de la Boderie, Ambassadeur de France en Angleterre, depuis 1606 jusques 1611.*

(*i*) See particularly Monfr. *de Villeroy*'s letter from *Paris* of the 23d of *December* 1608. *Ibid.* vol. I. *Lettre* 102. p. 382, & seqq.

(*k*) *Henry IV.*'s letter to Monfr. *de la Boderie* 29 *Juillet* 1606. *Ibid.* *lettre* x. p. 49, & seqq.

" much

“ much hypocrisy and dissimulation, that it was difficult to guard against their artifices ; for the first thing, which they do, is to gain, that is, to purchase by money, partisans in the places, where they reside, or have access, whose assistance they afterwards make use of, often deceiving them first, in order to obtain their own ends. For which reason their friendship is more dangerous than their arms ; and they make no difficulty nor conscience of agreeing with every body, and entering into alliance and friendship, promising and giving more than is often desired of them, till they have gained credit and power enough to form and execute their own schemes, having so little shame at being suspected and discovered in such cases, that even, when they are surprised in the fact, they are more sorry for having failed of their attempt, than for being convicted.” The conspiracy, upon the occasion of which *Henry IV.* wrote this letter, is not mentioned in any of our Historians ; and therefore an account of it may be properly enough inserted here from a letter of the Earl of *Salisbury* himself (1). One *Thomaso Francisco*, brother to Colonel *Jaques Francisco*, who had been page to Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Lord Chancellor in the reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, being lately come into *England*, had several conferences with one Captain *William Neuce*, who, in 1605, had carried two hundred *Irish* volunteers into *Spain*, and, being come thither, was suspected to have some extraordinary design in hand. Hereupon this *Neuce* was imprisoned in *Spain* ; but, after divers examinations, was set at liberty, and directed to repair to *Brussels*, to receive some entertainment there. Whilst *Neuce* was in *Spain*, he became acquainted and very intimate with *Jaques*, who, having often aggravated *Neuce*’s discontentment against King *James*, for being now

(1) To Mr *Winwood*, 19 July 1606. *Winwood’s Memorials*, vol. II. p. 246.

cashiered, and left without any subsistence; and finding *Neuce* to be a man fit to undertake any desperate attempt, in respect of his present necessities, proposed to him to raise his fortunes, if he would be directed by him; but the particulars of it he deferred to acquaint him with till they two should meet in the *Low Countries*. Hereupon *Neuce* went to *Brussels* to meet *Jaques* again, where they had many conferences; in which *Jaques* reminded *Neuce* of his ill usage from his Majesty; telling him still, that, if it were his own case, he would be revenged against his person, if he were the greatest King in *Christendom*; and that a worm, being trod upon, would turn again: And so, entertaining him still in that humour, questioned with him what acquaintance he had with any of the *English* Captains in the States service; affirming, that if he could gain any one to do some service for the Archduke, either in delivering into his hands *Sluice*, *Bergen-op-zoom*, or *Flushing*, they should be well rewarded, and have thirty or forty thousand pounds for recompence; advising him to go into *England*, and to make tryal with some man of resolution to undertake some such attempt; and then *Jaques* would send over his brother *Thomaso* to him, to acquaint him with the particulars of the service, that was to be done by him. *Neuce* came over accordingly, and afterwards advertised *Jaques*, that he was ready, and assured of a confident person for his purpose, if he might but know the service. *Thomaso* then came over privately in the company of one *John Ball* an *Irishman*, and a domestic to the *Spanish* Ambassador in *England*. They met often at *Ball's* chambers in the Ambassador's lodgings, and talked still of surprizing of one of the towns above-mentioned, but especially *Sluice*, which was made the pretence; yet, before *Thomaso* would impart it to *Neuce*, he required an oath of secrecy, and *Neuce* would first be resolved by his ghostly Father, whether

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he might lawfully undertake any thing against Heretics. A Priest was accordingly brought to *Ball's* chamber, who resolved *Neuce*, that *he might do any thing against Heretics, because they were worse than Turks and Infidels*. They proceeded in their discourse about the taking of any of those towns; but, among other speeches, they fell into discourse about the King's hunting; and *Thomaso* asked *Neuce*, whether he had not a good horse and a pistol, and that there was a means to deserve so much money in *England* without going beyond sea; and so set *Neuce* on without naming any thing. The next day *Thomaso* and *Neuce* met again on *Tower-hill*: they spoke again of *Sluice*, which was but the jargon; but *Thomaso's* intention was against the King a hunting; and he said; *that a brave-spirited man, with a good horse and a pistol, might do it, when his Majesty was hunting at Royston*, and ride a good way after in a day and a night: *Neuce* pausing at these speeches, and answering afterwards, that it might be done best there, but they should first procure some money in their purses; *Thomaso* answered, that he would not article with him for any thing but for *Sluice*; but, said he, *you know my meaning; here is no place to speak of any thing*; and so they went to dinner. A third person was appointed at *Tower-hill* to overhear them, who bore witness directly, that *Thomaso* used the speeches above-mentioned to *Neuce*. The next day, being *Sunday*, *Neuce* went again to the *Spanish* Embassador's lodging to speak with *Ball*, where *Thomaso* was likewise. It seemed, by their suffering *Neuce* to wait so long for them, that they were dissatisfied with *Neuce*, and, in kindness, offered him a piece of sweet-meat, called *paste of Genoa*. *Neuce* eat of it, and, suspecting nothing, put a piece of it in his handkerchief to carry to a child of his. Upon his coming home, his wife, and two other women of the neighbourhood, eat a little of it; but, towards night,

262 *View of the Negotiations between*

Neuce himself fell a vomiting, his stomach swelling and so did the other three women proportionably all of them having all the accidents, in the judgment of physicians, of having eaten some poison; but especially *Neuce*, who had eaten the greater part and was in danger of his life. The next morning was informed, that *Thomaso* had sent for horses to be gone; whereupon it was thought fit to apprehend him in his lodging; and for *Ball*, the *Spanish* Ambassador was written to, that he might be forth coming in his house. But the Ambassador afterwards came to the King, and shewed a great unwillingness to deliver up *Ball* to his Majesty to be examined; whereupon arose some dispute, his Majesty affirming, that the Ambassador had done that which the King his master would not approve him in. In fine, the Ambassador refused to deliver *Ball* but said, if his Majesty would send and take him in his lodging, he might; which accordingly was done in a quiet and peaceable manner; and so *Ball* was fetched out of the Ambassador's house. *Thomaso* after some examining and confronting with his accusers and the witnesses that overheard them, who both offered to justify it with their swords, was committed to the Tower, and *Ball* to the Sheriff's house in London. But the parties being alive, who were suspected to be poisoned; and because, says the Earl of Salisbury in another letter (m), we cannot draw from crafty knaves discoveries of their own treasons but by such means, as are used in such cases; which if we should do, would breed an opinion, that we were willing to extract something to the scandal of the Ambassador, and so by consequence of the amity, we resolved to deliver *Ball* over again, except he [the Ambassador] stand too much upon his pride to refuse

(m) To Sir Charles Cornwallis, 17th of August 1606. Ibid. p. 251.

him,——notwithstanding that Ball, in every examination, crossed himself so palpably, as he was ashamed. For Thomaso, the brother of Jaques, he hath only been yet under course of examination; though the party, that is the accuser, doth not only avow to his face as much as I have sent you, but hath part of his accusation from another man, that overheard some of the worst part of his discourse.

The King of *Spain* and the States General were now extremely weary of the war with each other. The *Spaniards* had spent infinite sums of money, and lost more men, than the provinces in dispute were worth. They saw no probability of reducing them by force; and were apprehensive, that if they should gain a very considerable advantage over them, they would put themselves under the dominion of *France*; and this would draw after them the other provinces, which still continued subject to *Spain*. But the greatest of their fears was, that the *Dutch* would ruin intirely their navigation to the *Indies*, and prevent the arrival of their fleets, which are the chief subsistence of *Spain*. Besides, the *Spanish* Council imagined, that as the war had served only to render these people more stout and fierce, and taught them to defend themselves better, peace would by degrees bring them back, restore the communication, and, perhaps, revive the respect for their ancient Sovereign, at least amongst the Catholics, who made up almost a fourth part of the revolted provinces. Add to this, that the Archduke *Albert* ardently wished for a peace, in order to enjoy peaceably *Flanders*, and to be enabled to employ his money and friends in making interest for the imperial throne, which he thought would be soon vacant by the death of the Emperor *Rodolpbus*. On the other hand, the *United Provinces* saw themselves overwhelmed with debts, almost intirely abandoned by the *English*, and under apprehensions of being likewise deserted by the *French*, who were

264 *View of the Negotiations between*

tired of contributing to the expence of the war, without gaining any apparent advantage by it. Many of their merchants imagined, that peace would procure them mountains of gold; and others being greatly alarmed at the progress of the Marquis of *Spinola*, who, among other places, had taken *Grol* in *August* 1606, and *Rhinberk* in *September*, declared, that since they could not subsist of themselves in a separate State, it was better to return to their natural Lord, than to put themselves under another, who would be the more severe master, as he was much nearer to them. *Caminga*, a *Fleming*, who was one of the first, who had been formerly called the *Gueux*, having talked one evening to this purpose, was found the next morning dead in his bed at *Embsden* (n). Such being the disposition on both sides, the Archduke thought proper to try the inclination of the States General with regard to a cessation of arms; for which purpose the *Sieur Walrave de Wittenborst*, Lord of *Horst*, and Seneschal of the country of *Kessel*, came to the *Hague* in *May* 1606; but he could not execute any thing, nor be admitted to any audience, because Prince *Maurice* was then in the army, and had with him several of the Deputies of the States; for which reason, the person, to whom he addressed himself, advised him not to discover his business at that time; so that he departed, and it was reported, that he came thither from the Emperor. He returned, on the 23d of *December* following, to *Holland*, with *John Gevart*, Licentiate in the *Laws*, and Secretary of *Tuernout*, who was appointed his associate; and they communicated to some persons, that they had instructions dated the 6th of *May*, containing, that the Archduke was intirely disposed to put an end to this long and bloody war, and to restore the country to peace on such equitable conditions, as the *United Provinces* should have reason

(n) *Mez. Abr. Chron.* tom.viii. p. 614, 615, 616. ed. *Par.* 1686.

be fatisfied with. They well knew the juſtice his pretenſions; and that, for his own part, he demanded only what was his right; and that the States might aſk what they would have of him for their ſecurity, in which he would give them all ſatisfaction: and that if they were inclined to this, or a truce for ſeveral years, they might name the time and place, and that he would agree to it, tho' they ſhould think it proper not to treat of this affair publicly, but ſecretly, and by the intervention of a few perſons. Beſides this, the Archduke had likewiſe ſent a letter, dated the 12th of *December* 1606, which he took notice of his having ſent again the perſons above-mentioned into *Holland*, to proſecute the treaty of peace; and that if they ſhould find the States more inclined to a truce than to a peace, they ſhould declare, that the Archduke, out of the deſire which he had to a peace, would moſt willingly conſent to it. Upon this they began to treat ſecretly, firſt in private, with ſome of the principal perſons among the States; but, becauſe they had no letters addreſſed to the States, it was not thought proper to make the affair public, till they had more ample powers from the Archdukes. For which reaſon, Licentiate *Gevart* returned in haſte, in *December*, *Bruffels*, and brought back a Commiſſion from the Archduke, dated the 3d of *January* 1606-7, empowering the Sieurs *Horſt* and *Gevart* to repreſent in name, in the aſſembly of the States General, that he was ready to treat of peace, and to ſend Deputies to that purpoſe, and to give them all ſatisfaction; if they choſe a truce, he ſhould be equally content with it, and for what time they pleaſed. Being furniſhed with this Commiſſion, they demanded immediately an audience of the States on the 10th of *January*; and had a conference with Prince *Maurice*; and on the 13th propoſed their demands openly to the States General. They added
likewiſe,

likewise, that the States should consider the uncertain issue of all wars, in order to dispose themselves to a peace, or a truce, that they might restore country to its former prosperity. On the 27th that month an answer was returned to them, that the States saw clearly, that their Highnesses continued still their ill-founded pretensions to the *United Provinces*; whereas the States held it for a point known to all the world, evident, and not to be contradicted, that their Highnesses could not pretend to any thing in the *United Provinces* of the *Low Countries*, under any title, except by force and war. That, on the contrary, the States had always affirmed, that they were well founded in their just and good cause, to restore to the union of the *Provinces* of the *Low Countries* all that had been taken from that union by force and ill practices, by violating solemn a decree as that of *Utrecht* in 1579, by which for so many important and just reasons, the *Provinces* of the *Low Countries* were declared a free State: That this decree had, for twenty-five years past, been confirmed by public acts and treaties and by the most powerful Kings and Potentates of *Europe*. So that they were resolved to use their most efforts to recover it; and therefore could give no other answer, than they had before given to Imperial Majesty, and other Princes, viz. that they could not treat, with honour or security, with those who continued to pretend to any right over the *United Provinces*, contrary to the above-mentioned decree, which maintained and confirmed the rights of those *Provinces*. And therefore they protested against all the mischief, which might happen to the *Provinces*, or any member thereof, in the maintenance of so just a cause.

Upon this the Archduke's Deputies departed, in order to make a report of the answer they had

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: after which the *Sieur de Horst* wrote a letter States, informing them, that the intention of chduke was not to gain, or pretend to any y that treaty over the *United Provinces*, but : them in the state, in which they were; and they were inclined to treat upon that foot, that ould readily agree to it, without any prejudice n.

he end of *February* arrived from *Bruffels* in d, as Deputy from the Archduke, the Com- r General of the Friers Minors, or *Cordeliers*,

Frier *John Ney*, son of *Martin Ney*, who en formerly well known to *William Prince of* . He first kept himself very private at *Rys-* but, at last, by means of some, who con- vey secretly with him, the occasion of his g was understood; which was, to know what ndered the success of the proposal of the *Sieur* st: and he having, some days after, conferred ntly in private with Prince *Maurice*, was sent the *Hague*, where he visited several persons, ad an audience of that Prince, whom he assured, ic Archduke's intention was not to strengthen iken the title or right, which he might have, ating of a truce, but to treat with the States in ndition in which they then were. And being that the Archduke must acknowledge them for State, before they could enter into any treaty, ertook to procure, that the Archduke should it to this, for the avoiding of a greater effusion od. He went therefore, about the 9th of b, in Prince *Maurice's* war-boat to *Antwerp*; urned on the 17th of that month to the *Hague*, i writing of the Archdukes, dated the 13th, mporting, that they were content to treat with ates General of the *United Provinces*, in qua- f, and considering them as free Provinces and States,

States, to which their Highnesses have no pretensions, and to treat for a perpetual peace, or truce, or cessation of arms, for twelve, fifteen, or twenty years, at the choice of the States; in order to which their Highnesses would agree to a cessation of arms for eight months, that the said treaty might be carried on. It was agreed therefore, on the 24th of *April*, between Father *Ney*, the Archduke's Deputy, and the States General, that the truce for eight months should begin on the 4th of *May*, the Archduke promising to deliver, within three months, the King of *Spain's* ratification of the treaty, with all the renunciations and obligations, both general and particular (a).

During the course of this affair, Sir *Thomas Edmondes* sent to the Earl of *Salisbury* from *Brussels*, on the 29th of *April* 1607 (b), an account how the resolution for the truce was relished there; and that because it was said, that only the Marquis *Spinola* and the President *Richardot* were used in the counsel of it, they were accused of having "swayed the resolution thereof wholly according to their private passions; the Marquis persuading this composition for the desire he hath to withdraw himself from hence with the honour he hath here purchased; and the President doing the like for the hatred which he beareth unto the *Spaniards*. Though the men of war be most wounded by this treaty, yet do the Churchmen, and especially the *Jesuits*, no less bitterly cry out against the same, and curse the Frier for employing himself therein.—I am moved, under humble reformation, as yet to think, that chiefly the extremity of his [the King of *Spain's*] necessities, and therewith his doubt of the *French* King's purposing to stir against him (where-

(a) Meteren, L. xxviii. fol. 60^r, 608.
mondes's MS. State-papers, Vol. IV.

(b) Sir *Tho. Ed-*

I know they have been here in great jealousy) : been the principal motives of drawing them to this resolution.——If the States be not wanting to themselves in their stipulations, they are not to doubt, that they will be here refused any conditions to purchase a peace with them."

In another letter from Sir *Thomas Edmondes* to the Lord of *Salisbury*, on the 3d of *June* 1607. he observes, that *Richardot* had said to him, "that King *James's* unwillingness, not only in refusing to favour them for the compounding of matters between them and the States, but also that it seemed he was content to give way to the other designs against them (alluding to *France*), had been the occasion of making them to take the desperate resolution, so much to their prejudice.——That I was glad of the taking of the said resolution for common good: but he protested unto me that deeply, that he knew nothing thereof, until the Archduke, having received answer out of *Holland* to that proposition, did then send for him to acquaint him therewith; at the which he said he was much astonished. I prayed him to satisfy me, whether the Archduke had received any special commission for the same out of *Spain*. He said, no; but only a general absolute power to make a composition, as he should think fit; besides, that the said authority had been fortified by other more particular directions, which have been sent to that effect unto the Marquis *Spinola*. He did plainly let me know, that the King of *Spain* is very weary of the burden of these wars, as his phrase was, that he is *fort battu de ses ennemis*."

The King of *France* being acquainted by the General, that they had accepted a truce, and being desirous, that the affair might be carried further to the prejudice of his interests, resolved, in order

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to have a share in the negotiation, and made in a manner arbiter, to send into *Holland* *Paul Choard Buzanval*, President of the Parliament of *Burgundy*, to act in conjunction with *Elias de la Place*, Sieur de *Russy* his Ambassador, and to fortify the States General by their counsel. Their instructions for this purpose were received 22d of *April* 1607, N. S. and they arrived at *Hague* on the 24th of *May*, and had audience 28th (c); and the Deputies of the States were immediately to treat with them concerning peace.

The States General likewise, in *July* 1607, sent Deputies to King *James I.* to represent their affairs, and to desire his concurrence in a treaty; which Deputies had audience of him on the 14th of *July*; and his Majesty immediately determined to send Commissioners into *Holland* to assist the States in the further proceeding in the negotiation of peace, or a further truce (e). Sir *Henry* and Sir *Thomas Bodley* were designed to be Commissioners for this purpose; but they refusing that employment (f), Mr. *Winwood*, lately returned from the *Hague* to *England*, was soon after knighted (g), and Sir *Richard Offley* in *Hertfordshire*, who was uncle to Lord *Spencer*, and had been appointed Envoy to *Spain* in *January* 1604-5, but was excused on account of his health and circumstances (h), at the beginning of *August* 1607, made Com-

(b) *Mezerai Abrege Chronol.* Tom. viii. p. 618.

Negotiations de Monfr. le President Jeannin, Tom. i. p. edit. 1659.

(c) *Earl of Salisbury* to Sir *Charles* the 15th of *July* 1607. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol.

(f) Mr. *Winwood* to Sir *Tho. Edmondes*, *London* 9th and Sir *Henry Wotton* to Sir *Tho. Edmondes*, from *Venice* 1607, N. S. Sir *Thomas Edmondes's MS. State-paper*

(g) *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II p. 328.

45, 46.

the States General, and soon after went to *Holland* (i).

The King of *Spain*'s ratification of the truce be-
arrived, the Audiencier *Verreyken* carried it to
Hague on the 24th of *July*, N. S. but as it was
upon paper, and signed *To el Roy*, and sealed
with the small seal; and as it gave the Archdukes
title of Princes and Sovereigns, Proprietors of
the *Low Countries*, and omitted the clause, that
it would treat with the United Provinces as con-
sidering them as free States, the States General thought
this ratification imperfect both in form and substance.
This occasioned it to be sent back to *Spain*, whence
it was returned to the *Hague* with some alterations,
but not with all those that had been marked by the
States. The party therefore, who were averse to
peace, took the advantage from this and some other
circumstances, to form many obstacles to it, so that four
months were spent in disputes. However, in the
beginning of *November*, the States, at the pressing
instances of Father *Ney*, entered upon the negotia-
tion; but laid down this for their fixed and immove-
ble preliminary, that no prejudice should arise from
the foundation of their liberty and right of sove-
reignty, which they had gained at the expence of
every thing which was dearest to them in the world.
Because the truce was to end in *January*, they
left it to the discretion of the Archdukes to prolong it
a month or six weeks (k).

Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, on the 2d of *September*
1677, wrote from *Brussels* to the Earl of *Salis-
bury* (l), that Secretary *Villeroy* had written to the
English Ambassador there, that Father *Ney*, the *Cor-
rétier*, in his return from *Spain*, was unwilling to

(i) Ibid. p. 328. & seqq.

(k) Mezerai, p. 620, 621. &

Mezerai, fol. 607, 612, 613, 614.
i. State paper, Vol. IV.

(l) Sir *Tho. Edmondes*'s

be known in *France*; “but, finding that notice was taken of him, he desired to see the King, pretending to have been thereunto commanded by the King of *Spain*; and to make his excuses, that he did not acquaint him with the proceedings in the treaty, till matters come to a more ripeness: and that the King of *Spain* prayed him to join with him in the care, that there might be an allowance for the exercise of the Catholic religion in the *United Provinces*. Whereunto the *French* King made him answer, that he had that matter so much in recommendation, as it was one of the principal causes, that moved him so speedily to send his Ambassador into those parts.”

The President *Jeannin*’s conduct soon gave disgust to the Court of *Brussels*; of which Sir *Thomas Edmondes* sent an account to Sir *George Carew*, Ambassador in *France*, who informed Sir *Thomas*, in a letter from *Paris* on the 3d of *September* 1607 (m), what had passed between the Archduke’s Ambassador at his last audience and the King of *France*, as the latter had related it to Sir *George*. The Ambassador began to enter into a discourse, how it seemed, that God was purposed to accomplish the peace by miracle, notwithstanding the great oppositions that were made therein; and he spared not to charge the King, among the rest, with *Jeannin*’s proceedings. Whereupon the King told him, that there was no just cause to accuse him therein; for that he had sent thither a man known to be affectionate to the Catholic religion, whereas he had formerly ever used to send thither an *Hugonot*. True it was, that he had given them a man of experience, to advise them in their proceedings, having to do with such cautious people; and that they had well shew’d it in their deceitful ratification, which they were obliged afterwards to

(m) Ibid.

1. As for the peace, that the conclusion there-
 consisted in the King his brother of *England*, and
 ; and that they held both one course: and if
 lifted to declare them in their protection, no
 : should be concluded. But for his *miracles*, that
 : King of *Spain* wrought four or five such mi-
 : as this, he would prove the poorest King of
Endom.

: *Ralph Winwood*, on the 21st of *November*
 , wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* from the
 u (x), that if the Marquis of *Spinola* came
 x, "we presume we shall have a peace; for
 power with *Spain*, and his ambition to be the
 hor of this work, will surmount all difficulties,
 ich are more, and more important, than easily
 be believed; notwithstanding the minds of all
 n, for the most part, are prepared to embrace
 ce, when they are in despair to find means to
 intain the war."

e conduct of the *English* Commissioners at the
 : may be seen in their letters, printed in the
 1 and third volumes of Sir *Ralph Winwood's*
rials; but would much more fully appear, if
 o manuscript volumes of Sir *Richard Spencer's*
 (o) were published, which contain all the dis-
 s of that Gentleman, and his colleague Sir *Ralph*
ood, during the negotiation of the truce, with
 instructions and letters, which they received
 he Privy Council, and the Earl of *Salisbury*.
 papers explain the conduct of this famous
 in which the States General laid claim to an
 wledgment of their independency, a freedom
 le to the *Indies*, and a permission to keep the
 shut up; together with a clear account of the
 tion of a defensive alliance between *England*

vid. (o) In the Possession of Sir *Henry Perrier*, Judge
 Admiralty-Court.

274 *View of the Negotiations between*

and *Holland*, in which the debt owing by the States to the Crown of *England* was to be liquidated, a mutual assistance to the party attacked stipulated, and the privileges of the *English* merchant-adventurers at *Middleburg* asserted.

The States General had, in the beginning of the negotiation, very earnestly pressed the *English* Commissioners to declare, what assistance King *James* would afford them, in case the treaty broke off without success. Upon this point the *English* ministry were remarkably reserved in explaining themselves, as thinking the *French* were not at the bottom inclined to take so strong a part : that both the King of *Spain* and the States were equally determined to make an end of their tedious quarrel ; and that, circumstanced as the United Provinces then were, it would be sufficient to guaranty the peace, after it should be made, without needlessly provoking *Spain* by any declaration, which might give her umbrage. This is evident from the following passage of a letter from the Privy Council, of the 11th of *December* 1607, to Sir *Richard Spencer* and Sir *Ralph Winwood* (p) : “ It is now somewhat impertinent to “ handle the question incident to the war, or to believe, that if his Majesty would, in requital of “ the breaches of the treaty in some particulars on “ the King of *Spain*’s side, make offer of any such “ assistance, as his present state will afford, thereby “ to draw them into a war, that it would be likely “ to draw them from a peace, for which they have “ already pleaded so many great necessities. In “ which respect, with many more, it is now the “ peace, that must be the object of your consideration, and his Majesty’s present direction.” They proceed then to intrust the Commissioners in the conduct of their mediation, in which they are no

(p) Sir *Richard Spencer*’s MS. Negotiations, Vol. I.

be " leaders, but followers, and to keep it between the two extremes, as his Majesty may appear so full of care for the States security, as he refuseth not so far to advise them, as he may do, without assuming to himself any peremptory conclusions, which do not concur with their foundations, who best know the corner-stone of their own building." In managing the defensive alliance with the *United Provinces*, the Commissioners were directed expressly to confine it to the treaty's taking effect with *Spain*; to conclude it, if possible, without the comprehension of *France*; to insert a clear state of the debt due from the States to the Crown of *England*, and an effectual provision for the discharge of it. The Privy Council, in the same letter, make the following remark in relation to the designs of the *French*, which may be compared with their account of them in *Jeannin's Negotiations*. " The *French* Commissioners do principally seek to fasten that upon his Majesty, which they seem jealous to be put upon their Master: for we never yet found good grounds to believe, that they will, without reservation, shew any warrant to speak otherwise than in generalities, of any support to be given the States by any treaty; or if they should, it is then only fit for his Majesty to consider, whether the humour or convenience of other Princes must furnish a reason to conclude him, either to do, or not to do, any thing, just in the hour, that others would have it, and not rather to reserve himself to consult with the occasion."

In *August* this year, 1607, the Earl of *Tyrone*, the famous *Irish* rebel, fled from *Ireland*; which gave great alarms to the *English* Court. He had been pardoned by Queen *Elizabeth* just before her death, and was brought to *London*, in the beginning of King *James's* reign, by the Lord *Montjoy*, and presented to his Majesty, by whom he was very graciously received;

ceived; and shortly after returned to his native country, where he not only attempted once more to raise a rebellion, but also applied to foreign Princes for assistance. His secret practices not succeeding to his expectation, he was afraid of being apprehended, and chose to leave *Ireland*, taking with him his wife, his two younger sons, and his nephew, and the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, whom he had drawn into his designs, with that Earl's son and brother, and the Lord *Dungannon* (q). Upon their flight the King published a very remarkable proclamation (r). *Tyrone* and his company landed at *Quillebeuf* in *France*; upon which Sir *George Carew*, the King's Embassador there, demanded, that stay might be made of them there, until his Majesty might be advertised, and his further pleasure known. The King of *France*'s answer was, that *France* was an open country for passage; and that, upon their arrival at *Quillebeuf*, his cousin the Duke of *Montpensier* having given them his word for their free passage into the Archduke's country, he would not revoke the same. Besides, that it appeared not, for any thing he knew, but that they were retired out of their country for matter of religion, and private discontentment; and therefore desired the Embassador to be satisfied, for they would be gone immediately. Hereupon they departed towards *Arras*, without coming to *Paris*, and without speaking to the King of *France*.

When they were come into the Archduke's country, Sir *Thomas Edmondes* likewise, by direction from the Court of *England*, insisted to have them stayed, as persons, who had rebelliously abandoned their country, upon guiltiness of treasonable practices entertained by them against their duty and allegiance.

(q) *Howe's Continuation of Stowe's Chronicle*, p. 801.

(r) *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol XV. p. 664, & seqq.

But

there he received the like answer, that *they were*
ons only fled for religion, and for hard measure
ived in point of their inheritance: That they
 idered, why his Majesty should require that at the
 hduke's hands, which the King of *France* had
 re refused to do, with many such evasions. To
 ch Sir *Thomas Edmondes* answered, that there was
 ifference between passing only through one's coun-
 , and coming and settling themselves in another's.
 : Sir *Thomas Edmondes* could not prevail in any
 ext; for they were conducted to the Archduke's
 sence at *Binch*, and from thence to *Brussels*,
 re they were publicly feasted by the Marquis
uola, and afterwards resided at *Louvain*, where a
 npany was purposely erected, to put their retinue,
 came over with them, into present subsistence(*s*).

Thomas Edmondes, on the 21st of *October* 1607,
 te to the Earl of *Salisbury* (*t*), to desire his Lord-
 's directions, how he should further proceed with
 Archduke concerning *Tyrone*, and his company;
 e "the President *Richardot* had plainly told him,
 hat, for his part, he would not much insist against
 hem, for that he was so ill censured in *Spain* for
 hat, which he did at Sir *Thomas*'s sollicitation against
Jwen." *Tyrone* afterwards went to *Milan*, where
 was magnificently entertained by the Conde de
ntes (*v*), and thence to *Rome*, where he had a
 sion from the Pope of an hundred Crowns a
 nth, and another of six hundred crowns a month
 n the King of *Spain* (*w*).

Sir *Henry Wotton*, Ambassador at *Venice*, who
 e a constant correspondence with Sir *Thomas Ed-*
mondes, on the 12th of *October* 1607 (*x*), sent to

(*t*) Earl of *Salisbury* to Sir *Charles Cornwallis*, 18th of *Nov-*
ber 1607. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 357, 358.
 Sir *Thomas Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. IV. (*v*) *Win-*
wood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 386. (*w*) *Ibid.* p. 411, 421,
 459. (*x*) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. IV.

278 *View of the Negotiations between*

him a copy of the sentence of the Council of
published the day before, on occasion of the w
ing of Father *Paul* on the 5th of that month. ‘
“ Nuncio, *says he*, is thereupon fallen into fi
“ gerous a distemperature, both of mind and
“ that this very morning, in the place where
“ dents and other instruments of novelties m
“ was discoursed amongst them, who might b
“ succeed him. And, on the other side, the
“ Friar, that was assailed, is almost recovered
“ hurts by *Aquapendente*, who, by public com
“ ment, was fetched from *Padua* about the
“ The historical part of this fact your Lordshi
“ (as I have said) in the sentence: the critica
“ of what is likely thereupon to ensue, you
“ have in my next.” Sir *Henry Wotton* wrote
to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* on the 19th of *Octobe*
“ By the last post I had only leisure to send
“ Lordship the sentence of the Council of *Ten*
“ lished against the person of *Maestro Pan*
“ *Servite*, which is here drawn within the cc
“ of *majestas lesa*, both because he stood und
“ protection of the State, by a decree passe
“ since, and is likewise an immediate Minister
“ Senate. These last eight days have discove
“ other than those five comprehended in th
“ sentence: only yesterday a Chaplain of the
“ of *Santa Justina* was, by the Council o
“ committed to close prison, for certain
“ which he let fall by way of commiseration
“ ing the present estate of those malefactor
“ which example, and divers others occurre
“ the composition, the State hath sufficientl
“ cuated a point, which the *Jesuits* had spre
“ most through *Italy*, and much more abroac
“ in the said composition was accorded by then

(5) *Ibid.*

"*per conventionem tacita*, that they should meddle
"with no more Priests."

Sir Henry wrote another letter on the 1st of November (2), in these words: "Touching the course
"of things here, *Maestro Paulo* (who is the whole
"subject of our speech) being now well near recovered of his hurts, it hath seemed good unto the
"Senate not to be behind the Council of Ten, in
"showing their care of him, as will further appear
"unto your Lordship by the inclosed proclamation.
"Of the assassins, that are fled, we have no other
"certainty than this, that they were seen in *Ancona*
"on the 15th of the last month, and in *Rome* on the
"21st with *harquebusses*. Which circumstance is
"here much urged, because they are otherwise prohibited weapons through the Pope's towns, and
"consequently a point of especial favour. As they
"went along, they gave forth, almost in every village,
"that they had been moved to this attempt immediately by the Holy Ghost, as it were to
"meet with a question, that was likely to be asked,
"Who had set them on work? whereof there is here likewise some hold taken. To leave this
"matter unto further discovery, here is newly arrived *Monfr. de Champagni*, to reside for the French
"King, &c." Father *Paul*'s own account, in his letters to *Monfr. Grosset* (a), of the attempt to assassinate him, is, "that he was attacked by three
"bravoes, both behind and before, in such a manner,
"that neither his servant nor himself were aware of
"them; and they gave him three stabs, two in his
"neck, and one in his temples, all of them above
"four fingers deep, with a *stiletto* or dagger, which
"was thought to be poisoned. But all the wounds
"went slanting, so that the *stilletos* run in all their

(2) Ibid. (a) Letter of December 11, 1607. Letters p. 6. edit. London 1693.

“ way but little within his flesh : and I am now,
 “ says he, in no great danger ; which is a blessing,
 “ that I acknowledge due only to the mercy of God,
 “ who was pleased to shew me such a strange and
 “ signal deliverance. I make no doubt but they
 “ might have murdered me a thousand times upon
 “ the place, if God’s protection had not prevented
 “ them. He be ever praised for it. I should not
 “ be against dying for that cause, which these men
 “ undertook to do me mischief for ; nor am I much
 “ concerned, that I was not killed, excepting that it
 “ hath pleased the Divine Majesty to let me still
 “ live, and do further service to that cause.”

The defensive alliance between the King of *France*
 and the States General was signed at the *Hague* on
 the 23d of *January* 1607-8 (b) ; notwithstanding the
 opposition, which was given it to by several of that
 King’s Council, whose zeal for the *Roman Catholic*
 religion led them indirectly to favour the *Spaniard* (c).
 But the alliance between King *James* and the States
 could not be dispatched till *July* following, on ac-
 count of some points, which were previously to be
 settled. The *English* Commissioners found no part
 of their instructions more difficult in the execution,
 than liquidating the debt due to that King from the
 States : but, in return for some concessions, which
 they were impowered to offer, as to the time of re-
 payment, they got it fixed at the sum demanded,
 which was 818,408 *l.* Another point, wherein
 their labours were attended with equal obstacles,
 and equal success, was the affair of the commer-
 cial privileges, which were claimed by *England*, by
 virtue of the old treaties with the house of *Burgundy*.
 The province of *Holland*, and especially the town of
Amsterdam, were very averse to the settling of them

(b) *Negotiations de Monsr. le President Jeannin*, p. 503, &
 seqq. (c) *Mezerai Abregé Chronolog.* Tom. VIII. p. 629.

on the ancient footing, unless the traders might obtain the same favour in *England*. Yet Sir *Richard Spencer* and Sir *Ralph Winwood*, though they were at liberty to refer this matter to commissars, insisted so warmly and steadily upon what they thought would be an acceptable piece of service to the nation, that they procured an article to be inserted, which gave intire satisfaction to the *English* merchants (*d*).

The Deputies of the King of *Spain*, who were the Marquis *Spinola*, the President *Richardot*, *John de Mancidor* Secretary of war to *Philip III*. Father *John Ney*, and the Audiencier *Verreyken*, Principal Secretary to the Archduke, arrived at the *Hague* on the 1st of *February* 1607-8 (*e*); and soon after the conferences were opened between them and the Deputies of the States General: But they soon differed upon the demand of the latter, of free trade to the *Indies*, and upon the reciprocal traffick in the *Low Countries*, the renunciation of reprisals, the declaration of limits, the demolition and exchange of places, the annulling of sentences of proscription and confiscation, the restitution of goods, the privileges of towns, the disbanding of troops on both sides, and several other points: which occasioned the truce to be prolonged twice; first to the end of *May*, and the second time to the end of *July*. Father *Ney* likewise going to *Spain*, to procure more ample powers, was detained there a long time by the natural or artificial slowness of that Court; and the President *Jeannin* took a journey to *Paris*, by order of *Henry IV*. and Don *Pedro de Toledo*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, went thither at the same time, in order, it was thought, to sound the King of *France*, and to detach him from the interest of the States. In the mean time Sir *Ralph Winwood* wrote from the *Hague*

(*d*) Sir *Richard Spencer*'s MS. Negotiations. L. xxix. fol. 624. verso.

(*e*) Meteren,

282 *View of the Negotiations between*

to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, on the 28th of *May 1608*, O. S. (f), that he was doubtful, whether the state of *Ireland* was so well assured, as was presumed : and that, if all advertisements be true, there was a purpose to assist *Tyrone*, not only in *Spain*, but likewise in *Italy* ; and some speeches, adds he, are cast out, as though Sir *Robert Dudley* should be employed in this service by the Duke of *Florence*. This Sir *Robert Dudley* was son of *Robert* Earl of *Leicester*, by the Lady *Douglafs Howard*, daughter of *William* Lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, and widow of *John* Lord *Sheffield*. But that Earl disowning this marriage, his son, who was born in 1574, and educated at *Christ-church, Oxford*, undertook, several years after his father's death, to prove his mother's marriage, and his own legitimacy. But King *James I.* ordered all the depositions taken in support of this to be sealed up, and an end to be put to the cause in an abrupt and violent manner ; which provoked Sir *Robert Dudley* to retire to *Italy* ; and he refusing to return to *England*, when he was summoned, his estate was seized, as that of a fugitive, and given to Prince *Henry*. In *March 1620*, he had letters patents from the Emperor *Ferdinand II.* creating him a Duke ; upon which he was called Duke of *Northumberland*, his grandfather's title. He was a man of great learning and genius, as appears from his *Arcano del Mare*, printed at *Florence* in 1646, in fol. and he died in the Grand Duke's palace, near that city, about the year 1650. He married *Anne* eldest daughter of Sir *Thomas Leigh* of *Stonely* in *Warwickshire*, Knight, by whom he had five daughters ; and this Lady was, on the 23d of *May 1644*, created *Duchess Dudley* by King *Charles I.* in consideration of the injury, which had been done her husband and her, by depriving them of their estate *

(f) Sir *Tho. Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, Vol. V. * *Dugdale*'s Baronage.

Sir Thomas Edmondes, in his letter from Brussels to Sir Ralph Winwood of the 10th of June 1608, O. S. (g), takes notice of the general opinion, that the Deputies of the States General had nothing so well provided for their own interests, as they had given advantage thereby to the King of Spain. He observes also, that Don Pedro de Toledo was shortly to treat with the King of France about marriages between the children of the Kings of France and Spain; which is thought, says he, especially to be set afoot at this time, in hope thereby to make the King of France the more contained in his assistance toward the States, that they, by that means, may be put into the more discomfort and despair of their subsistence. The said Don Pedro is afterwards to go into Germany, to interpose the authority of the King of Spain for the compounding of the matters between the Emperor and the Archduke Matthias: but it is expected, that he will pass this way. The Archduke Matthias doth insist, that seeing the Emperor maketh difficulty to confer on him presently the title of King of Bohemia, that with the Kingdom of Hungary (which hath been already offered him) he may be also declared King of Moravia, Silesia, &c. which are the bordering provinces upon Bohemia. The said Archduke doth justify himself to the world, to have entered into this action, upon a combination heretofore made between him and the rest of the house of Austria for the setting of him up, in respect of the Emperor's weakness, and to prevent, by that occasion, that the succession of the Empire should not be carried from their house. I have here seen the copies of the transactions, which to that purpose passed between them."

284 *View of the Negotiations between*

Sir Ralph Winwood, the next day after the date of this letter, viz. on the 11th of June, O. S. wrote to Sir Thomas Edmondes from the Hague (b), that the President Jeannin departed thence in the morning of the day before towards France; "and (which, says he, will seem most strange to your Lordship) he had not the manners to bid us farewell. This day Monfr. de Ruffy came to excuse this his so sudden departure, upon letters from the King commanding his return with more than ordinary diligence. We are all here *au bout de nostre Latin*, to pick out the construction of this irregular proceeding, which doth portend some strange practice, which now is projected between France and Spain."

Sir Charles Cornwallis likewise sent Sir Thomas Edmondes, on the 3d of July, O. S. from Madrid, the following account of the state of affairs in Spain (i). "I suppose, we have here a desire to hold the world at gaze of what will be the event of our late shews of inclinations to this peace in treaty. A strong advocate is entertained on either party: for honour and necessity are the pleaders. The first makes a great noise, and carries the more sound; but the latter is of the more force, and (as far as the eyes of my weak judgment can discern) will in the end attain the victory. To continue the war (for any thing that appeareth above-ground) we have no means; neither are we likely to increase them, the head of this estate having (as here the public voice reports) lost lately, at play, to the Marquis of Laguna and others (whom I forbear to name) above 600,000 Ducats. Our sea-forces were never so lame; and, for land-services, we were never worse furnished. Our hopes are all in heaven, and in what the late Embassy

(b) Sir Tho. Edmondes: MS. State-Papers, Vol. V.

(i) Ibid.
"wo

“ we have sent into *France* may produce. Upon
 “ the event of that invention we now demur, glad
 “ to win time, and not unwilling to beguile our-
 “ selves with hope of whatsoever, by any possibi-
 “ lity, may happen either advantageously or for-
 “ tunately unto us.”

The President *Jeannin* being returned from *France*
 to the *Hague*, where he arrived on the 4th of *Aug-
 ust* 1608, O. S. (a), Sir *Ralph Winwood* informed
 Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, in a letter from thence of the
 3d of *September*, O. S. (b) that, *since his return, he was*
so transported with violent passion, that he hath lost in
this place all credit and reputation, and is deeply su-
spected to be touched with the metal of Peru: And
because we play not the mad-men, which he doth, that
is, rail upon the States, Count Maurice, and all, as
he hath done in full assembly, he cries out against us
of double-dealing, in shew to further, in effect to hin-
der, the proceedings of this treaty.

Sir *Richard Spencer* and Sir *Ralph Winwood* like-
 wise complain, in a joint letter of theirs of the 5th of
September, of *Jeannin's* over-bearing carriage (c):
 “ We have had, *say they*, much patience, to hold
 “ good quarter with the *French*, since the return of
 “ the President *Jeannin* out of *France*; with whom
 “ because we cannot concur in his violence, but ra-
 “ ther induce the States by reason, than compel them
 “ by threatenings, which he doth, he doth charge
 “ us of double-dealing, in shew to advance the peace
 “ and the truce, but in effect to hinder both the one
 “ and the other.”

The President, in his letters, represents the nego-
 tiation, which was set on foot for a long truce, agree-
 able to the mediators project, after a perpetual peace

(a) *Negotiations de Monfr. le President Jeannin*, p. 807.
 (b) Sir *Thomas Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. V. (c) Sir
Richard Spencer's MS. Negotiations.

proved unattainable, as wholly owing to his in-
 with the States General. On the other hand
English Commissioners laid claim to the cred-
 in their Master's behalf: "For, say they, in
 letter of the 20th of September 1608(d), "the
 "sonable negotiation of *Don Pedro* in France
 "was said to be at a match for the *Infanta*
 "made that Nation so deeply suspected here,
 "jealousy is daily augmented by M. *Jeannin*
 "hence, that if we had not joined with him in the
 "ture for the truce, that proposition had found
 "small grace in the assembly of the States."

Prince *Maurice*, who is represented by *Mor-
 bery du Maurier* (e), as extremely averse to the
 ty of peace, appears, from the *Negotiations of*
Richard Spencer, to have been of a very warm tem-
 and apt to fly out upon contradiction; and en-
 hasty resolutions, from which he was afterwar-
 liged to recede in a manner, which did him no
 dit. In a conference with the *English* Commis-
 as they relate in their letter of the 23d of Sep-
 1608, he made no scruple to declare, that, un-
 articles conceived in the treaty might be accom-
 the truce, he would make himself a party
 cause, with some of the best towns in *Hollan-*
 province of *Zealand*, and all the soldiery, who
 at his commandment.

Not long after he embroiled himself in a pe-
 difference with King *James*, of which we meet
 no traces in any of our Historians; and those
Ralph Winwood's Memorials being very imper-
 it will be proper to supply the defect from *Si-*
chard Spencer's Negotiations (f). Sir *Ralph Win-*
 being present in the Council of State, where the

(d) Ibid. (e) *Memoires pour servir à l'histoire de Hol-*
 p. 265. Edit 1630. (f) MS. letter of the 17th
 November 1608.

of the Courts of *Madrid* and *Bruffels* in the treaty
 estioned by the Prince, told his Highness, that,
 bstanding, he thought it the interest of the Re-
 to go on with it, because, if the Archdukes
 at last refuse to comprehend the King of *Spain*,
 as themselves, an eternal dishonour would light
 them, and the two Kings of *England* and *France*
 have more reason to assist the States. The Prince
 him up briskly with these words "We will not
 plead a process before the Kings: and *le Roi*
notre Maître n'ose pas parler au Roi d'Espagne."
 alpb answered, *Monseigneur, vous avez tort: le Roi*
Maître a & resolution de se ressentir, & puissance
revenir du Roi & Prince qui se soit. The
 e replied, *Comment s'est-il senti de la trahi-*
re poudre? Sir Ralph rejoined, *Comment savez-*
que le Roi d'Espagne s'y soit mêlé? Owen en a
 laid the Prince, *lequel on a demandé; & le Comte*
rome est soutenu par le Roi d'Espagne. Sir Ralph
 d, *Quant à Owen, ce n'est pas à vous, à qui le*
mon Maître en rendra conte: & pour Tyrone,
le monde sait, qu'il est à Rome, & non pas en Es-
pe. Sir Richard Spencer and Sir Ralph Winwood
 ediatly sent an account of this affair over to
 and, which was so ill taken, that King *James*
 e to the States General, on the 2d of *December*
 3, complaining of the affront, and demanding a
 er reparation for it. A little time sufficed to
 g Prince *Maurice* to a sense of his imprudent be-
 our; and, in a very respectful letter, he endea-
 red to mollify the King's anger. But this was
 thought a sufficient satisfaction, as being con-
 ed in too general terms; and the *English* Com-
 ioners had orders to present the King's letter in
 ublic assembly of the States. The Prince pre-
 ted so formal a complaint against him, by mak-
 a more frank acknowledgment of his offence in a
 nd letter, and clearing himself, in the best man-

288 *View of the Negotiations between*

ner he could, from any malicious intention to peach his Majesty's service, or asperse his char:
 " This dispatch, says Sir *Richard Spencer* (g)
 " did communicate to me; at which time he de
 " ed the desire he first had to gain the King's
 " vours; the care he had to retain them; and
 " to redeem them, he shall think his best ser
 " worthily employed: All which he delivered
 " that tenderness of affection, and anguish of m
 " that the very tears did stand in his eyes."

This Prince, according to *Du Maurier* (b),
 all the efforts imaginable to persuade *Henry IV*
 prevent the success of the treaty of the truce, as
 trary to the interest of *France*; since the *Spania*
 being no longer diverted by the *United Provi*
 would infallibly turn their whole force against
 Kingdom. And we are informed, by a letter of
 Sir *George Carew* to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, date
Paris November the 3d, 1608 (i), that the King
France had, some time before, sent back a Gen
 man, who had brought him a letter from Prince *M*
rice, with an answer very quick, as the letter u
 And here, adds Sir *George*, they do, by reports, and
 other demonstrations, seek to maintain the opinion
 the sway, which this King's authority bath with th
 people [the States]; in which sense I have heard, t
 the King should say openly to the Gentleman, who w
 into *Holland*: " Dites à eux, que je veux, qu'ils fac
 " la treve."

Monfr. *de Puisieux*, in a letter to Monfr. *de la i*
derie, from *Paris* the 25th of *November* 160
*N. S.** mentions the Prince's letter to *Henry I*
 and observes, that the design of it was to dissua

(g) MS. letter of the 18th of *January* 1608-9. (h) I
 supra.

(i) Sir *Tho Edmondes's* MS. State Papers, Vol.

* *Lettres d'Henry IV. Roi de France, & de Messieurs*
Villeroy & de Puisieux, à Monfr. Antoine le Fevre de la Bode
Tom. I. p. 365.

thât King from prosecuting the treaty, by laying before him an ample detail of the reasons, which he thought of most weight to divert his Majesty from it: *But this King*, adds *Monfr. de Puifieux*, *has answered him like a wise, experienced, and cordial friend; so that we are in hopes, that this answer will, in some measure, soften the Prince's temper.*

The Prince's disinclination to the treaty will further appear from a letter of *Sir Thomas Edmondes* of the 4th of the same month *November*, written to *Sir Henry Wotton*, Embassador at *Venice* (*k*): We
 “ have been here, *says he*, in continual expectation
 “ for this sevensnight, to understand, what the States
 “ have resolved since their return from their pro-
 “ vinces, touching the last proposition tendered unto
 “ them, for the making of a truce for ten years,
 “ in such manner, as, by my former letters, I certi-
 “ fied your Lordship: And we hear said, that they
 “ are so divided in their opinions and affections
 “ about the same, as they cannot as yet agree what
 “ answer to make. The greatest part of the pro-
 “ vinces shew to be inclined to the accepting of it;
 “ but the Count *Maurice*, together with those of
 “ *Zealand*, and some principal towns, do, by all
 “ means, labour the contrary: And the animosities
 “ against each other have grown to that height, as
 “ many libels have been cast forth against the pro-
 “ ceeding in the truce; and a letter directed unto
 “ the States General, wherein was written, that their
 “ State was on fire, and was in danger to be pre-
 “ sently burnt to ashes, if the fire were not quenched
 “ by the blood of *Barneveldt* and the Greffier *Aersens*. This *Barneveldt* took so tenderly, as there-
 “ upon he went to justify himself before the States,
 “ concerning his carriage in the business of the trea-
 “ ty; and desired, that he might be permitted to

(*k*) (*i*) *Sir Tho Edmondes's MS. State-Papers, Vol. V.*

290 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ give over his place, and to retire himself to
 “ vate life, seeing he was so ill requited for more
 “ thirty years service, that he had done them.
 “ the next day he was again fetched to the c
 “ by some of the States; and there a long t
 “ was made in approbation of his good serv
 “ and he was desired to resume his former place
 “ promise of protection, and of righting him a
 “ any, that should seek unjustly to wrong him.
 “ so that broil was quickly passed over; but
 “ they will agree upon the main matter, we c
 “ hourly to understand. Those of *Zealand* di
 “ a while, stand upon their terms, not to co
 “ the assembly to confer of the matter; but
 “ they have yielded therein, because they f
 “ that the rest of the provinces would otherwisi
 “ protested against their obstinacy, and have
 “ their conclusions without them. I understand
 “ his Majesty’s, and the *French King’s* Con
 “ sioners do, with great diligence, labour th
 “ cepting of this truce: and, if the same be c
 “ ed, it will be chiefly by their means.”

The Earl of *Salisbury*, who had been advan
 the Post of Lord High Treasurer, on the 4th o
 1608, to the great satisfaction of the whole
 dom (1), upon the death of *Thomas Sackvill*
 first Earl of *Dorset*, having secretly employe
Thomas Wylfourd in the *Low Countries*, the last
 seized towards the end of *July* that year, up
 information of *Owen* and *Baldwin* the Jesu
 holding correspondence with his Lordship
 being, as I understand, says Sir *Thomas Edmon*.
 his letter to the Earl from *Brussels July 27th* (
further maliciously suggested, set awork by your

(1) Sir *Henry Neville* to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, *London*
May 1608. Winwood's Memorials, Vol. II. p. 399.
The Edmondess's MS. State-Papers, Vol. V.

ship to kill Owen. Sir *Thomas*, in another letter to the Earl on the 10th of *August* (n), observes, that, since the writing of his former, Mr. *Wylfourd* had been examined, “ at what time there was produced before him the letter, which he wrote by *Whitebread* to your Lordship, containing an offer of something to be undertaken by them, which was referred to the relation of *Whitebread*. Whereupon, as I understand, *Wylfourd* made no difficulty to confess unto them, that he intended surprising of *Owen*’s person, to carry him into *England*, as a thing, which he conceived would be very acceptable unto our State, and deserved not to be reputed an offence against this State. All men judged it to be an enterprize of no small difficulty, but much more for Mr. *Wylfourd* to undertake.”

The Earl, on the same day, wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* from the Court at *Holdenby* (o), upon that affair, in the following terms: “ I protest before the Majesty of Almighty God (to whom I give thanks for it) I am far from any such disposition [to kill *Owen* in cold blood, by any undue course]; and consequently from practice with *Wylfourd*, or any other, for matter of that nature. Alas! Sir, what were *Owen*’s death to this State? *Tyrone*’s were of another manner of importance. I think you will easily believe, that I am not without daily offers to have my choice of them cut off, if I were so bloodily disposed. But I had rather serve my country in any other kind, than, together with the blemish of mine honour, to stain my conscience with the blood, which, shed by a lawful course, were acceptable service to God, but, spilt by indirect means, would cry for vengeance from above . . . I confess to you, Sir *Thomas*, blood is to me so precious, as I should feel a horror to be

(n) Ibid.

(o) Ibid

"the author in any such kind." His Lordship wrote again to Sir *Thomas*, on the 14th of *September* 1608, from *Salisbury-house*, upon the same subject *. "I was content, *says he*, to discourse with him [*Wylfouard*] and shew my liking, that, by some stratagem, he [*Owen*] might have been stolen into a ship, and brought for *England*... The main service that he professed, and I accepted, being merely and only to reveal practices for *Ireland*."

The *English* and *French* Commissioners having removed their conferences with the Deputies of the King of *Spain*, the Archduke, and the States General, to *Antwerp*, in the beginning of *February* 1608-9 (p), Sir *Thomas Edmondes* went from *Brussels* thither to meet them; where he spent a few days, and, upon his return to *Brussels*, wrote the following letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, on the 11th of that month, O. S. (q): "Now, touching the alarm, which the President *Richardot* hath taken, by reason of my speech with the Marquis *Spinola*, lest I should speak too freely at my return hither of those points, which have been imparted unto me, which I find hath been the cause of sending this messenger in such diligence after me, I pray you do me the kindness to let the President know, that as I hope I should have obtained out of my own discretion, and for the knowledge I have of the affections of this place, from committing any such error as he feared; so there was the less need, that he should redouble this charge upon me, considering, that himself had newly before told me, that they had not acquainted the *Spanish* Ambassador with any particulars of this business; neither were willing, that he, or any other, should be acquainted therewith, till matters shall come to a farther

* Ibid. (p) *Negotiations de Monsieur le President Jeannin*, Vol. II. p. 317. (q) *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 477.

"ripeness.

ipeness. You shall not need to doubt, but therein I shall govern myself according as is desired, for the satisfying of the curiosity of the President; and if I can in nothing serve to the advancement of the building, at the least I will bring no hindrance to the same. I will also this morning confer with *Monfr. de Berny*, that we may therein carry ourselves in one course. After I had been with the *Marquis Spinola*, going from thence to take leave of the President *Jeannin*, I did relate particularly unto him what had passed in the conference between the Marquis and me, as I had done the like in the morning to yourselves, if the time had not pressed me so suddenly to depart. And all that I spake, by occasion of the Marquis's discourse, was, that I found both you and the President *Jeannin* in great pain, how to reconcile the point of the *Indies*, and the rest, which were in question between you, because you knew, that you could hardly bring the States to other qualifications, than you had already made known to them. The President *Jeannin* thanked me for speaking in that manner by accident to the Marquis; which, tho', as it seemeth, did somewhat stir up the Marquis, insomuch as he will take the alarm upon the least occasion, which he thinketh may breed any difficulty in the business; yet I see no cause, why the President *Richardot* should think, that I would consequently speak as freely of those matters elsewhere. Notwithstanding I will not deny, but that I may be better directed by wiser men's cautions, to the which I do most willingly submit myself." The truce was at last concluded at *Antwerp* on the 11th of *March* 1609, for twelve years, upon these, and other terms: That the Archdukes treat with the States General in the quality of, and as considering them as free Provinces, to which they have no pretensions: That there should be a cessation

294 *View of the Negotiations between*
of all acts of hostility ; but that in the count
a distance it should not begin till a year after :
traffick should be free by sea and land ; whic
King of *Spain*, however, limited to his domin
Europe, not meaning, that the States should c
on in his other dominions, without his expres
mission : That each party should keep the Pro
and places, which they were then in possessio
That those, whose goods had been seized or c
cated, on account of the war, or their heirs, s
enjoy them during the truce, and re-enter upon
without any formality of justice : That the su
of the States should have in the country of h
tholic Majesty, and of the Archdukes, the sa
berty of Religion, as had been granted to the su
of the King of *Great Britain* by the last treaty of
On the other hand, the States promised, that no c
should be made in the villages of *Brabant*, whic
pended upon them, in which the exercise of th
tholic Religion only was before allowed. A
same time the Archdukes Commissioners sign
act, that it was the intention of the King of
that the States should freely trade into the
without impeachment.

The *English* Commissioners observed (a), th
one thing had been of greater trouble to th
this treaty, than the *craving humour* of Prince
rice, who, not satisfied with the large treat
granted by the States, nor contented with the
tution from the Archdukes of all the Prin
Orange's land in *Burgundy*, and these parts, fi
demanded satisfaction for certain pretensions gr
ed upon grants to his father from the States of
bant and *Flanders*, at such time, as they were

(a) Sir *Richard Spencer* and Sir *Ralph Winwood* to the
Salisbury from *Antwerp*, 29th March 1609, O. S. *Winwood's*
memoirs, Vol. III. p. 1, 2.

the Duke of *Anjou*, and separated from the obedience of *Spain*: Which point he pressed so hard, that he gave charge to Count *William* of *Nassau* not to sign the treaty, unless, in this particular, he might receive contentment. *Though this demand, add the English Commissioners, did carry with it no shew of equity, and so we freely declared to the Archdukes Commissioners; yet, to clear the passage, we have prevailed with them to grant one hundred thousand crowns, to be paid in two years.* The same Commissioners likewise assert (*b*), that all the demands of the States General had been granted, "which could carry " in them either shew of reason, or colour of justice. " Which easiness in the Archdukes Deputies (whether proceeding from the extreme necessities of " *Spain*, or from the desire these Princes bear to " quiet and repose) did puff up the States Deputies " into that conceited humour, for some days together, that not only they did think, that nothing " they did require should be refused them, though " never so unjust, or so void of reason; but that we, " and the *French* Commissioners, were bound to second and support them in all their impertinent and " unreasonable demands."

King *James I.*'s conduct in this treaty of the truce does not, upon a candid examination, appear so exceptionable, as some writers have represented it. Sir *Richard Spencer's MS. Negotiations* fully clear him from the aspersion cast upon him by the President *Richardot*, who pretended, that the King had undertaken, that the States General should agree to the truce, without any recognition of their Sovereignty from *Spain*. And those, who blame him for following so closely the *French* paces during the treaty, will find sufficient matter in those Negotiations to

(*b*) Letter to the Lords of the Privy-council, from *Antwerp*, 6th April 1609, O.S. Ibid. p. 4.

296 *View of the Negotiations between*

induce them not to be so forward in their censures. It is undeniable, that a general conjunction of counsels with *Henry IV.* was the likeliest method to bring *Spain* to reasonable terms; and the joint guaranty of the peace by both Kings, after it was concluded, was the most probable means of securing the observation of it from the same quarter. Neither did the *English* Commissioners so implicitly follow the *French* motions, as not, on some occasions, to depart from them; particularly in the demand, which was pressed upon the States, both by the *Spanish* and *French* Ministers, for the free exercise of the *Roman Catholic* Religion throughout their dominions. But, on the other hand, there were two particulars in the King's conduct, which admit of no excuse: The first was his avoiding to speak out his mind upon the subject of supporting the States, in case the treaty broke off *re infecta*, as it often seemed likely to do. The second was his extreme attention to money-matters in negotiating with them. In both these instances he was equally blameable, as they proceeded from his wretched oeconomy at home, and his timidity and irresolution with respect to foreign affairs; and as the *French* had thereby an opportunity given them of acquiring an intire influence over the *Dutch* counsels.

While Sir *Thomas Edmondes* was at *Antwerp* with the *English* Commissioners, Sir *Ralph Winwood*, who, though a man of great integrity, as well as abilities, appears to have had something harsh and supercilious in his manner, gave some disgust by his behaviour to Sir *Thomas*, who, complaining of it to their common friend Mr. *Dudley Carleton*, in a letter of the 8th of *March* 1608-9; the latter wrote the following answer from *London* on the 30th of that month (c):
 “Your letter, of the 8th of *March*, was safely deli-

(c) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. VI. p. 13.

“vered

“ vered me by Mr. *Packer*. And though the party you therein mention [*Sir Ralph Winwood*] hath no whit deceived the judgment I always made of his natural disposition; yet I thought, that *res, ætas, & usus*, the practice and experience he hath had of the world, would rather have taught him better to know, than more to forget himself. But I perceive, that honours may easily change manners, when the change is to the first habit; and that the other is but borrowed, and put on for a time. Yet, for my part, I forgive him, since your Lordship saith he continues my friend; and, in his self-conceitedness, he will only prove his own enemy. And peradventure, after his return hither, when he hath past his first sprinkling of our Court holy-water, and found the world to wag no faster in his favour than other men’s, he will begin to fashion himself to the world again, and his friends receive the same contentment in him as before. The service of the Council-chamber (for which *Sir Thomas Smith*, by reason of his weakness, is now no more reckoned of) is reserved for *Sir Ralph Winwood* at his return; which how he will brook, after his great employments, I cannot easily imagine.”

Mr. *Carleton* wrote another letter to *Sir Thomas Edmondes* from *London*, on the 26th of *April* 1609 (*d*), in which we find some other severe strokes on *Sir Ralph Winwood*, though he soon after entertained a more favourable opinion of him. “ I received yesterday your letter by your servant, which was the more welcome, in that it puts me in hope of seeing you and my Lady here some time this summer, when, as I understand, there will be a general revocation of all our Embassadors. But those, that lead the way to your return, will, I assure

298 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ you, in respect of your Lordship, be less welcome
 “ unto me, though for one of them [Sir Ralph Win-
 “ wood] I presume I have good place in his fri-
 “ ship; for I have no reason to expect he should
 “ prove other to me than to your Lordship,
 “ whom there was the same, if not stricter obli-
 “ gation. I must confess, upon the first letter, it did
 “ not so deep into me, conceiving, that, as *sæpe læditur pietas*, so it might be but his mag-
 “ nifical gravity, and supercilious look, that had so much
 “ distastet you. But, finding by discourse with
 “ Trumbull, how you were handled betwixt them
 “ [Sir Richard Spencer and Sir Ralph Winwood],
 “ can as hardly excuse him of falshood in friendship
 “ as the other of folly. The best I can now do
 “ of it is a fear, that might possess them, lest
 “ should thrust your sickle into their harvest, when
 “ since, I hear, they have plentifully reaped.
 “ again, I see not how their jealousy should so trouble
 “ them, as not to see you would not meddle in their
 “ charge, unless you had commission from her Majesty
 “ or, if you had commission, they could not hinder
 “ you. Well, Sir, if he expect to be created
 “ Cardinal for this service, he may well be deceived.
 “ I see no better benefice for him at his return, than
 “ to serve as a clerk; which how well he will do
 “ after these great employments, your Lordship
 “ may judge, who knows the place well by former
 “ experience.

“ The King is, at this present, at *Theobald's*;
 “ looked for quickly here in town, having now
 “ in hand the translation of his book into *Latin*; where
 “ in he useth Sir *Henry Savile*, with some other
 “ and it will be yet a fortnight's work. Meanwhile
 “ the *English Book* will come forth again, well purged
 “ of some oversights.” King *James I.*'s book
 mentioned in this letter, was his *Apology for the
 of allegiance*, which was printed in 1609 in *London*.

England, France, and Brussels. 299

4to. and in *Latin* the same year in 4to. under the title of *Apologia pro juramento fidelitatis, præmissâ præfatione monitoriâ*. Cardinal Bellarmine, under the name of *Matthew Tortus*, published an answer to this *Apology*; to which Dr. *Lancelot Andrews*, then Bishop of *Chichester*, and afterwards of *Winchester*, wrote a reply under the title of, *Tortura Torti; sive ad Matthæi Torti librum responsio, qui nuper editus contra Apologiam serenissimi potentissimique Principis Jacobi, Dei gratia, Magnæ Britannicæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regis, pro juramento fidelitatis*: printed at *London*, 1609, in 4to. Sir *Henry Savile*, Provost of *Eton College*, and afterwards founder of the two professorships of *Astronomy* and *Mathematics* at *Oxford*, who assisted the King in the translation of his *Apology*, was likewise engaged now in the edition of *St. Chrysostom's* works in *Greek*; for which purpose Sir *Ralph Winwood* wrote, by his desire, to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* from the *Hague*, on the 7th of *May* 1608, O. S. (e), to intreat the favour of him, that Mr. *Sanford* (who was Sir *Thomas's* Chaplain, as he was afterwards to Sir *John Digby*, Embassador in *Spain*, and to Archbishop (f) *Abbot*), might go to *Antwerp*, to treat with *Moret the printer* about certain *Greek characters*, whereof he shall have use for the printing of *Chrysostom's* works, which long he hath had in hand. This edition, which cost Sir *Henry Savile* above eight thousand pounds (g), was printed at *Eton College* in 1613, in a most beautiful manner, in eight volumes in fol. and was the most magnificent work, which our nation had till then produced.

After the truce had been ratified by the Archdukes, and the States General, and the ratifications interchangeably delivered on the 3d of *April* 1609,

(e) Ibid. Vol. V.
540, 541. 2d edit.

(f) *Wood*, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col.
(g) Id. col. 467.

Sir

300 *View of the Negotiations between*

Sir Thomas Edmondes sent Sir Ralph Winwood an account, on the 16th of that month (*b*), of the truce's having been proclaimed in *Brussels* with the like solemnities as it was before at *Antwerp*; "but nothing, says he, with the like applause of the people; for that the harvest of these men, which was chiefly maintained by the greatness of our Court, and in the concourse of the men of war, will be now much decayed. We understand also, that those of *Antwerp* do already begin to repine, in that they are like to be so long debarred of the benefit of the *free trade by the river*, whereof they looked to have been presently put in possession. These Princes are exceedingly joyed with the conclusion of the truce; and it is said, that they will now spend most of their time abroad in their houses of pleasure, to recompense themselves for their former unhappy life. There hath run a slanderous report, both in this town and *Antwerp*, that great sums of money were bestowed on you the commissioners; for that the day before your departure from *Antwerp* there was one hundred thousand crowns paid by the *Pagado* to the Marquis *Spinola*, and much given to turn the same into gold. But Monsr. *de Berny*, and myself, have made it known generally, that you refused to accept of the same presents, as we were well informed, that you had done. And sith you will have me believe, that you are ignorant what sum was intended to each of you, as your letter, which I received this afternoon by Mr. *Matthew Fludd* doth import, I will tell you, that I know there was assigned two thousand pounds sterling for each of you four Commissioners; which seeing you refused to accept in money, there is new plate providing for you at *Antwerp* to that value. The great pains, which you

(*b*) *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 16.

" have

“ have taken, have well deserved both that acknowledgment, and what you are likewise otherwise to receive. I am in the same expectation, that you are, to receive answer shortly out of *England* concerning my revocation.”

“ Sir *Henry Wotton*, on the first of *May* 1609, *N. S.* wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* from *Venice* (i), that a *Frier* had been, as it was said, secretly drowned that week, for practising the death of *Father Paul*.

It now being determined to recall Sir *Thomas Edmondes* from his Embassy at *Brussels*, the King sent him over a letter to the Archdukes, dated the 5th of *June* 1609, for his revocation (k); which the Earl of *Salisbury*, in a letter from the Court at *Greenwich* the 9th of that month (l), told him he might use at his best time.

He had been designed in the beginning of the year 1608 to succeed Sir *George Carew*, as Ambassador in *France*; and *Monfr. de Puisieux*, in a letter from *Paris* to *Monfr. de la Boderie*, the French Ambassador in *England* (m), takes notice, that their Court would get nothing by the exchange of Ambassadors, since Sir *Thomas Edmondes* understood them too well; *car il est trop sçavant parmi nous*. “ If he should be sent, adds *Monfr. de Puisieux*, it is only with a design to make a fuller discovery of our affairs. We cannot, nor ought to oppose openly the appointment of him; but whoever can underhand divert this stroke [*detourner ce coup*], would, in my opinion, do a good service.”

This employment being now accepted by Sir *Thomas*, Mr. *Dudley Carleton* wrote to him, upon that occasion, the following letter from *London* the 8th of

(i) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s MS. State Papers, Vol. VI. p. 95.
(k) Ibid. p. 149. (l) Ibid. p. 183. (m) *Lettres d'Henry IV. Roi de France, & de Mess. de Villeroy & de Puisieux, à Monfr. Antoine le Fevre de la Boderie, Lettre LXI. Vol. I. p. 251, 252. See likewise p. 247.*

302 *View of the Negotiations between*

June 1609 (n): "The resolution your Lordship hath taken to undergo the *French* employments, I am heartily glad of, it being, in all appearance, to your end, to a settled fortune, and no hindrance to the mean time, to any thing you may expect recompence of your former services; nay, in my poor opinion, your ready assenting to the offer of our great Lord [*Salisbury*] (who, as you know, have his favours rejected) is the readiest way to win him more unto you, and to further your pretensions, which I heartily may succeed to your full contentment. I should be glad I could send your Lordship information of what you write touching myself, but I would, I doubt not, content you the more, to see your friends in a good way with you. But as I have not yet received any the least signification of your intention; which makes me believe, that, in your secret council, the matter is otherwise resolved, I should else would not good news be so long concealed. Howsoever, the worst is provided for; and as the failing of a better fortune shall not hinder me, God willing, from enjoying my contentment, I shall be no meaner; which though (God knows) it be a mean, and penurious, and, in the estimate of the world, *ut nunc sunt homines*, scarce enough to keep me in credit; yet it being sufficient, *pro meis meritis*, to bring the year about, I shall not desert my duty in maintaining my reputation with my nearest friends, with whose good conceit I am more affected than with vulgar opinion. Your constant and careful regard of me, I assure your Lordship, is no small comfort unto me.

"I hear Sir *Ralph Winwood* aims at a Mass of Requests to be added, at his return, to his

in the Council-chamber, which alone of itself he accounts too great a fall from his high pitch of employments.

"I and my poor family are fast here (God help us!) my wife being in the straw, and a little hospital-boy by her a fortnight old, which came so much sooner than she looked; else had I been now at *Westminster*, where Sir *Thomas Smith* had very friendly lent me his house for this gossiping business, which stands in better air, and more out of harm's way, than mine own." Mr. *Carleton* had been married, in the latter end of the year 1607, to a niece of Sir *Maurice Cary*, with whom they lived for some time in *Chancery-lane* (o), and afterwards in *Little St. Bartholomew's* near *West-Smithfield* (p). He had been long in expectation of preferment, but yet without success, though he had, as he says himself (q), done his *best endeavour to set himself forward in the world, as far as in modesty and good manners I might: But non est volentis, neque currentis; all depends upon the will of the Lord. And more I cannot now do, than, having made my desires known, to keep myself in sight, that I may not slip out of mind; and, for this purpose, I have shaken hands with the country, and am here settled a burghess in Little St. Bartholomew's.*

There being still some apprehensions from the *English* and *Irish* traitors and fugitives, and the countenance, which they received from *Spain*, and especially of a descent of the Earl of *Tyrone* in *Ireland*, the Earl of *Salisbury* wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* from *Whitehall*, July 25th 1609 (r): "His Majesty agreeth with you, that, by the concurring

(o) Mr. *Dudley Carleton* to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, 13th January 1607-8. Ibid. Vol. IV. (p) Mr. *Carleton* to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, 7th April 1609. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. III.

p. 6. (q) Ibid. (r) Sir *Tho Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. VI. p. 277.

304 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ of things, there is likelihood, that there is some
 “ practice in motion ; but so far only probable yet
 “ as men may conclude, that known traitors and
 “ fugitives will leave no means unattempted to shew
 “ their inveterate malice, and also will pretend
 “ greater forwardness in their designs (thereby to
 “ value and countenance themselves towards their
 “ party) than there is cause. But that this enter-
 “ prize should be directly carried on by open force
 “ from *Spain*, as his Majesty thinketh not, that the
 “ *Spanish* King’s affairs are in such state as to bear
 “ it ; so, for any indirect means, either by the co-
 “ louring the sending any numbers of men, under
 “ the name of the Pope or Church, there is no
 “ Prince so simple as to think, that his Majesty will,
 “ any whit the less, impute the injury to them, from
 “ whose territories the preparation either moveth
 “ first, or any supply after, howsoever the action
 “ may be formally disavowed. So as I must still
 “ conclude, that, when that action doth shew itself,
 “ the King of *Spain* will expect to receive that mea-
 “ sure from his Majesty, which so notorious a breach
 “ deserveth ; such covers and pretexts serving al-
 “ ways for those Princes, who know their enemies,
 “ and dare not avow the knowledge of some second
 “ end or advantage. And therefore, seeing *Tyrone’s*
 “ return into *Ireland* must either be with some for-
 “ reign power, or with some few *Irish* fugitives...
 “ this is the best use, that can be presently made of
 “ this advertisement ; first, to continue vigilant, how
 “ things do move on all sides : next, to take care
 “ for money and victuals in that kingdom, provi-
 “ sionally, against such an accident, as the descent of
 “ *Tyrone*, with some stragglers, may prove ; and
 “ presently to take occasion to speak to the Arch-
 “ duke of it, to see what answer he would make
 “ upon the sudden, which his Majesty thinketh you
 “ may conveniently do, before your departure, as from
 “ your-

yourself. First, by letting him know what you say: next, by laying before him, how impossible it is for such an action to receive any other censure from a wise King, when he shall see any troops transported from *Spain* or *Dunkirk*, under whose name or banner soever it be covered, than for a breach of amity; yea, tho' it be but by suffering them to use the vessels or assistance of any of his subjects. This you may let fall as of yourself, without intimating, that you have given any advertisement of it hither; because it is not such, as may be worthy the alteration of any of his Majesty's main purposes, further than to prepare his thoughts, and it is not convenient to be told him, that they may see they cannot walk unobserved.

It hath been also strange to me to understand, that the Baron of *Hobouque* doth pretend to have received the Commission from hence, to deal with the Marquis *Spinola* about the breaking of the *Irisb* regiment, though his Majesty might have just cause to observe it as an argument of no great civility. For I do easily believe, that, by the course of dismissing of that regiment upon this censure, all this intention may be covered and extended; so as I should think, that this may now be done of purpose to licentiate them to pass into *Ireland* to support the party. And therefore you will do well in that kind, to hinder any such matter rather than approve it; for they cannot be better than where they are, though you need not say so, as if you had any such direction; for that is to move him to do it, or by not doing what you intend not, to value it as an obligation.

As for the powder-men, it is true, his Majesty hath some speeches with the Baron for removing of them, at least from the face and protection of his court, which you may still expostulate. I do conclude that I have been the more jealous of the

306 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ breaking of this Regiment, because I hear th
 “ Marquis *Spinola* is very forward for it.”

Sir *Thomas Edmondes* was, in the latter end of *Aug*
ust 1609, ready to leave *Brussels*, and return to *Eng*
land; and his last letter from thence to the Earl of
Salisbury was dated on the 26th of that month, an
 was as follows (s): “ My departure from hence hat
 “ been deferred longer than I expected, by reason c
 “ the absence of the President *Richardot*; the Arch
 “ duke entreating me to suspend my going till hi
 “ return; which, when he hourly expected, the
 “ came news hither, that he was fallen sick;
 “ *Arras* of a fever, by the wearisomeness of his jou
 “ ney in one of his age; yet there was not at th
 “ first that deep apprehension taken thereof. Bu
 “ the next news, which the Archduke received, whi
 “ were brought him yesternight, have been of hi
 “ death; with the which accident they are very mu
 “ troubled; for that, he having been solely used
 “ the managing of all the great affairs of this Stat
 “ they seem to be reduced to a great exigent by th
 “ sudden loss of him; and especially in this co
 “ juncture of their occasions, wherein their affa
 “ remain as yet altogether unsettled. And the wa
 “ of so able and necessary a Minister doth the mo
 “ trouble them, because this State doth at this tir
 “ afford very little choice of other sufficient p
 “ sons to employ in his place. Howbeit, he ha
 “ not been so happy, as to leave the world so w
 “ satisfied of his own particular, many taking
 “ liberty now to speak with great freedom of hi
 “ I hope to-morrow to take my leave of these Pr
 “ ces, and, two days after, to begin my journey
 The President was a native of *Burgundy*, and ov
 the rise of his fortune to the Bishop of *Arras*.
 was of great abilities, and had done very import

(s) *Ibid.* p. 327.

es, in the reduction of many cities under the government of the King of *Spain*, while the Prince of *Orange*, and others, commanded the *Low Countries*; was employed in the several negotiations for peace *Paris*, in *England*, and at the *Hague*. He was in *August* this year, into *France*, about the disputed *Duchy of Juliers* and *Cleves*; and, in his return, at *Arras*, on the 25th of *August* 1609, aged seventy years. He had several children, one of whom was Bishop of *Arras*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Cambray* (1).

Ralph Winwood, who returned to *England* in *July* this year was sent back to *Holland*, in the *Office* of Ambassador, about the middle of *August* and, while he was in *England*, Mr. Dudley Carleton received a better opinion of him, than he had expressed in his former letters to Sir Thomas Edmondes; in one to that Gentleman from *London*, of 15th of *August* 1609, he writes thus (w): "Your neighbour, with the free States, is going back well satisfied with his treatment here, as he hath your cause. For titles of honour, and for matters of profit, he was well before-hand, and the rest he is like to make up where he goes. I do assure your Lordship, he hath as much deceived you, since his coming home, as he did you at your first meeting; for, whereas his carriage towards you gave me cause to expect no great friendly or dealing, being alike interested with him, he hath thus far deceived my expectation; as, first, when there was question of his stay or return, to seek to leave me his successor in the *Low Countries*, in

(1) Meteren, L. xxxi. fol. 673.
 M. Vol. III p. 57, 58. 62, 63.
 MS. State-Papers, Vol. VI. p. 303.

(v) Winwood's Memoirs.
 (w) Sir Thomas Edmondes's Letters.

308 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ case his service should have been employed here;
 “ Then, when his return was resolved, to establish
 “ me in his place in the Council-chamber, for which
 “ he moved my Lord himself: and though it took
 “ not place, I am not to measure the matter by the
 “ event. Now, lastly, at his leave-taking, he took
 “ occasion to remember me again to my Lord, which
 “ was taken in good part; and this comfort given
 “ me from his Lordship, that I should find the dif-
 “ ference to be great betwixt slow doing and not do-
 “ ing at all. We have had many times speech
 “ touching your Lordship, wherein he still gave
 “ you your due, without any the least diminution in
 “ the world to your credit and reputation; only he
 “ complained, that you were not so well satis-
 “ fied in him. I took no knowledge at any time of
 “ any matter betwixt you; and he was as sparing to
 “ acquaint me with it. But his colleague [Sir *Rich-
 ard Spencer*], drunk, as it seemed, with his good
 “ fortune, at our very first meeting dashed up to the
 “ ears into the matter, and said enough to make
 “ me plainly perceive it was only a mechanical je-
 “ lousy, of having a new sharer in their profit, that
 “ made them give you that harsh entertainment.”

Sir *Thomas Edmondes* departed from *Brussels*, and returned to *England* about the end of *August* or beginning of *September* 1609, leaving at *Brussels* his Secretary Mr. *William Trumbull*, who was afterwards Envoy to that Court for fifteen years; and discharged that post with great abilities and integrity, and a thorough zeal for the interest of his country, and of the Protestant religion (*a*); though he met with no other reward for his long services, than the plac

(*a*) Dr. *Geddes's* Council of *Trent* plainly discovered not to have been a free assembly, by a collection of letters and papers of the learned Dr. *Vargas*. *Introduct.* p. 80, 81.

of Clerk of the Council, in which he died at *London* in *September 1635* *.

Monfr. *de Boderie*, who had been Embassador from *France* in *England* from the year 1606, returned to *France* about *July 1609* (b). But in *January 1609-10*, when *Henry IV.* was preparing to enter upon the execution of the great design, of humbling the house of *Austria*, and marching into the Duchy of *Cleves*, upon occasion of the Emperor's having seized *Jullers*, while the Elector of *Brandenburg*, a Protestant, and the Duke of *Newburg*, a Papist, were disputing the succession of the last Duke of *Cleves*, that King sent Monfr. *de la Boderie* a second time Embassador to *England*, in order to engage King *James I.* in a league offensive and defensive. His son-in-law, Monfr. *Arnaud d'Andilly*, informs us (c), that, upon this Embassador's arrival, that King, and the Lord Treasurer the Earl of *Salisbury*, being surprized at his so sudden return, and asking him what business had brought him back so soon, he acquainted them with it, at which they were still more surprized. But that his manner of acting was so full of prudence and address, and, at the same time, so sincere and agreeable to the King and his Minister, that a treaty of that great importance and difficulty was concluded in three days, and the Embassador immediately dispatched to his Master a courier with the good news, who found that King dead, and the Kingdom overwhelmed with grief for one of the greatest losses, which it had ever sustained. But this account is absolutely irreconcilable with the letters of that King, and his Secretaries *Villeroy* and *Puiseux*, to Monfr. *de la Boderie*, who, as it appears from them

* Letters and dispatches of *Thomas Earl Strafford*, Vol. I. p. 467.

(b) *Lettres d'Henry IV. Roi de France, & de Mess. de Villeroy & de Puiseux, à Monfr. Antoine le Fevre de la Boderie*, Tom. II. p. 72.

(c) *Memoires de Mess. Robert Arnaud d'Andilly*, Part. I. p. 96. 97.

310 *View of the Negotiations between*

(d), arrived in *England* before the end of *January* 1609-10, and *Henry IV.* was not killed till the 4 of *May* following, O. S. and consequently that *Embassador* could not have concluded a treaty with *King James* in *three days time*; and that *King* himself, his letter from *Paris*, of the 25th of *April* 1611 N. S. (e), only directs him to conclude a *defensive league*, and not an *offensive* one likewise, as *Mont Arnaud d'Andilly* asserts. *Mr. Beaulieu*, who was Secretary to *Sir Thomas Edmondes*, in a letter to *Mr. Trumbull* from *London*, of the 26th of *April* 1611 (f), mentions, that the *English Ministers* were at the beginning of a great treaty with *Monfr. de la Boderi* and that the *Lords* were preparing to enter into conference with him, for the which the commission is already signed by the *King*, wherein are comprehended the *Lord Treasurer*, the *Lord Admiral*, the *Lord Privy Seal*, the *Lord Chamberlain*, the *Earls of Shrewsbury* and *Worcester*, the *Lord of Kinlosse*, *Sir Julius Cæsar*, and *Sir Thomas Parry* (who in conscience will make too strong a party against one man alone besides *Sir Thomas Edmondes*, *Sir George Care* and *Mr. Levinus* (g), who are named to be assistants and to wait in the conference, as my Lord (b) did in the *Spanish treaty*. By the choice and number of Commissioners you may judge, that the matter is of importance; and as it is so great, so I do suppose a fear it will be somewhat long in the handling, where our [*Sir Thomas Edmondes's*] departure into *France* will be protracted. *Mr. Beaulieu*, in another letter the 2d of *May* (i) observes, that *Sir Thomas Edmondes* was, at this time, so much employed in conferences with the *Embassadors of France*, G.

(d) *Lettres d'Henry IV. &c. a Monfr. le Fevre de la Boderi* Vol. II. p. 76, 77. (e) *Ibid.* p. 141. (f) *Winwood Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 152. (g) Secretary to the *Lord Treasurer*. (b) *Sir Thomas Edmondes*. (i) *Winwood Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 153.

and the States, that he was prevented from attending in the Parliament, which was then engaged in a very important affair, that of treating with the King for the purchase of the wardships and tenures in fee of the Crown: But that great acquisition to the liberties of the subject was not effected till the next session.

At the same time Sir Thomas had orders to write to the Archduke, in behalf of the States, and at their request, for the redress of some points, which they complained not to have been observed by him according to the treaty of truce, of which the King had made himself both the mediator and surety; the first of which points were concerning the trade and commerce about *Twente*; some impositions unlawfully exacted by the Archduke; and the arrearages of rents due to the States from the time of *Charles V.* and *Philip II.* (k).

While Sir Thomas Edmondes was expecting to go as ambassador to Henry IV. in the room of Sir George Villiers, who returned from France in October 1609 (l), an account was brought to England of the assassination of that King in his own coach in the streets of Paris, on the 4th of May, by Francis Ravallac, who had been some time a Feuillant Friar, and is generally considered as having engaged in so horrible an act from a spirit of enthusiasm, and bigotry to the Church of Rome, to which he thought Henry IV. zealously enough attached. The Queen herself was likewise taxed for so slight a mourning, as she showed for the death of her husband; which raised a suspicion, that she was privy to the plot; or, rather, that she knew of a forewarning from a secret hand, that would happen*.

(k) Ibid. p. 154.

(l) Sir Thomas Edmondes to Sir Ralph Wood, London 4th October 1609. Ibid. p. 78. * Mr. Samuel Calvert to Mr. Trumbull, London 10th June 1601. Winthrop's Memorials, Vol. III. p. 181.

To this purpose I shall insert a remark, which I transcribed from the original memorandums occasionally noted down by *Robert Sidney* the second Earl of *Leicester*, who was Embassador in *France* from the year 1636 to 1641. “*Monfr. de Bouillon*, says he, at *Paris* in 1636, and I, discoursing of many things of the King *Henry IV.* and his death, I said, I thought that blow came out of *Spain*. He said, he believed the Spaniards *had no more hand in it than you or I. That came some other way* (insinuating, as I imagined, the Queen-mother) *with the help of le petit Collet (that is, the Jesuits).* And I know somewhat of this; for le President *Jeannin* and I were the two appointed to examine the villain *Ravaillac*, and to take order for all things in that business: But he would confess nothing; only we observed this, which was very true, that the be were fol (that is, in a manner, mad) in all things else; yet, in defence of what he had done, he used all the subtle arguments, that any Doctor amongst the Jesuits could allege, and would never be put out from the opinion, that the King was an Heretic in his heart, and so out of the Church; and therefore might lawfully, and ought to be killed. It seems, said *Bouillon*, he had been taught his lesson well.”

The death of this King hastened the departure of *Sir Thomas Edmondes* for *France*, in order to learn the state of affairs there; and, according as he should find the same, to move that Court to pursue their design of besieging *Juliers*, and to support the claim of the Elector of *Brandenburgh* to the Duchy of *Cleves*: or, if the situation of things in *France* were such, by reason of any internal divisions or commotions, as they could not in that proportion engage themselves; yet to draw them to do as much as they could, both by continuing of the *Swiss*, and the two Regiments of the *French*, that were in the *Low Countries*,

tries, and by contributing to some other levies; in the mean time to suffer their army on the front to continue on foot, thereby to divert the forces of the Archdukes, whilst the other confederate forces might undertake any attempt, if an opportunity of advantage were offered for the same. This was the substance of Sir Thomas's instructions in that particular; besides the assurance he was commanded to give of his Majesty's constancy in the common cause. Sir Thomas accordingly set upon his Embassage, and arrived at *Paris* on the 24th of *May* 1610, six days after his departure from *London*, being accompanied by Monsr. *de Buwinckhausen*, one of the Ambassadors of the Princes of *Germany*, and the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who went to *Paris* to discover the disposition of the new State there, and to further the resolutions for the succours of *Cleves*. The next day after Sir Thomas's arrival, he was visited by Monsr. *de Bonoel*, Master of the ceremonies, from the young King and Queen Regent, to bid him welcome, and to make their acknowledgments to him for that kind office, of sending thither an Ambassador. Sir Thomas was the first in the performance of his office to the new King, for which he received many congratulations, and was visited with great affection by all the foreign Ministers at *Paris*, especially those, who were professed friends to *Britain*, and desired the furtherance of the affairs to be sent to *Cleves*, the resolution and execution of which they declared to depend chiefly on, particularly by the *Venetian* and States Ambassadors, the agents of *Geneva*, of the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and of the Prince of *Anhalt*. Upon *Wednesday*, the 27th of *June*, he had his audience of the Queen, the young King being present; and the

Lords of the Council to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, 18th *May* 1610. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 165.

next

314 *View of the Negotiations between*

next day had a long conference with Secretary *Villeroy* (n); of all which he gave the Earl of *Salisbury* an account in a letter of the 2d of *June* (o), in which he observed, that *Villeroy* declared, "that there was not to be expected either expedition or constancy in their resolutions here; for that the conclusions which they have taken in the morning are subject to be renversed or changed in the afternoon: & that he professeth, for his own discharge, that he knoweth not how, in this their distraction, to remedy the same. The Great Men be now the sons, that take most upon them in the Council; and although they shew all to affect the preserving of the public quietness, yet they are chiefly swayed by the interest of their own ends; & for that purpose, they have their several foreign parties and factions." He wrote likewise, on the 14th of *June*, to Sir *Ralph Winwood* (p), by *Mr. Vander Myle*, son-in-law to *Monfr. Barneveldt*, whom he wished to succeed *Monfr. Aersens*, Ambassador from the States General in *France*, when the latter should resign that post; and took notice, that they had, by their joint labours, done no small work. He had so far engaged the Court of *France* in the negotiation of *Cleves*, "considering the great opposition that hath been made thereunto, yea, to have renversed all again since the taking the last resolution. But now we have put it clean out of that danger, and the Marshal *de la Chastre* is ready to march to render himself, with the army at *Metz*, by the 5th of *July*. It was first proposed to have employed the Duke of *Bouillon*; but it was objected that it would put all the arms of *France* into the hands of those of the Religion; *Monfr. Lesdign*

(n) Mr. *Braulieu* to Mr. *Trumbull* from *Paris*, Ibid. p.

(o) Sir *Thomas Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. VI. p.

(p) *Winwood's* Memorials, Vol. III. p. 182.

commanding the other army in *Dauphiné*, which till afoot. The Marshal *de la Chastre* hath, I see you, shewed himself very well affected to the undertaking of this charge, and, by his careful diligence, hath much advanced the preparations for the same. Monsr. *de Roban* commanding the ships, and the Duke of *Sully* having newly before the King's death, resigned his office of Master of the Ordnance to his son, he doth now send him to make his apprenticeship in that charge, though with a poor equipage of only four pieces of artillery. For the charge of the battery against the town of *Juliers*, they leave it to be wholly supported by the Princes interested; but the victuals, which they shall need for their army, both for the war, and during their residence in the camp, they desire to be furnished thereof by the States means; and do promise, that the Marshal *de la Chastre* shall make payment for the same. They do recommend the speedy employment of the general forces; for that they say, they cannot long support the expence of their armies, which they pretend doth amount to seven-score thousand crowns by the month; but divers of the companies, both of horse and foot, are such as they do keep in their ordinary pay." He observed likewise, that the Queen had sent letters to the Prince of *Condé*, who was then arrived at *Brussels*, to enjoin his return to *Paris*; and that orders had been taken to furnish him with money for his journey and to pay his debts; but that it was thought, that this Prince's coming would make some alterations in the Court, to counterbalance some other's greatness. The 21st of that month he wrote to the Earl of *Bury* (q), that the Prince of *Condé* was expected in *Paris* within a few days, "upon whose arrival,

316 *View of the Negotiations between*

says he, “ it will be seen, how the Great Men of
 “ Court will divide themselves in their factions :
 “ partakings. The party, that seemeth to be
 “ ready formed, is of the Count *Soissons*, the Car-
 “ dinal *Joyeuse*, and the Duke of *Espernon*, w
 “ as it is said, have drawn Monsr. *de Conchin* [C
 “ *cini*, afterwards Marshal *d’Ancre*] the person t
 “ is the most favoured by the Queen, to adhere
 “ them. It will be sought to make the Prince
 “ *Condé* the head of the other party, with whom
 “ is thought, that the house of *Guise*, and the C
 “ *stable* [*Montmorenci*], and others will range the
 “ selves. And it is apprehended, that if the Qu
 “ do not carry herself with more resolution in
 “ government of matters, these great Men
 “ hardly be contained long in quietness the one
 “ wards the other. The Queen hath not been a
 “ to prevail with Monsr. *d’Espernon* to bring h
 “ to any better reason concerning the business
 “ *Metz*, and so is forced to pass over that m
 “ ter, though it give a general discontentmen
 In his next letter to the Earl of *Salisbury*, on the 2
 of *June* (r), he observes, that the two parties exp
 ed to be formed at the *French* Court, were
 Prince of *Condé*, the Duke of *Bouillon*, the Du
 of *Guise*, the *Constable*, with the Parliament of *Pa*
ris, and the *Protestants*; and on the other side
 Cardinal *Joyeuse*, the Count *de Soissons*, the Chan-
 lor *de Silleri*, the Duke of *Espernon*, Secretary *de*
leroy, and the President *de Jeannin*.

Mr. *Dudley Carleton*, who had been long in
 pectation of employment, was at last designed
 one in *Ireland*; but, that resolution being chang
 he was appointed to succeed his friend Sir *Thom*
Edmundes as Embassador to the Court of *Brussels*,

(r) Ibid p 617.

which he gave him an account in the following letter from London of the 2d of June 1610 (s).

“ You may remember where you left me, newly drawn out of the bogs into the water. You were scarce at sea, when I was fetcht out of the water to dry land; and the place, from whence you last came, assigned to me for my province.— I shall presume of your furtherance and help, for my better directions in the service. If the sight of such papers, as you left with Sir *John Wood*, touching your negotiation at *Brussels*, be a thing which in good manners I might ask of you, you can well conceive what a favour it would be to me; and I will give you a faithful assurance to make no other but an honest use of them.—I shall intreat your letter likewise to honest *Will. Trumbull*, of whom though I presume somewhat, yet I know he will do much more in your respect. But the matter is not yet come to that ripeness; for I know not whether the King hath been yet moved about me, though those, who have the managing of these affairs, have, as far as in them lies, settled me in a resolution upon this course: But, till more be done, I am wished to keep it as a secret, and so do to all but my nearest friends.” On the 17th and 18th of the same month he wrote again to Sir *Thomas* (t), that he had just then received a resolute answer from the Lord Treasurer, that he must rest upon the employment at *Brussels*, and prepare himself against the ending of that session of Parliament, which it was thought would be about a month after. The next day, June 19th, he applied to Sir *Thomas* for his assistance in his new employment (v). “ The more, says he, I think of my new employment, the more I am distracted with the consideration of

(s) Ibid. p. 557.
591.

(t) Ibid. p. 587.

(v) Ibid. p.

“ it.

318 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ it. And it was no small unhappiness, that I know
 “ not which way to bend my course before your
 “ departure, by reason of the good direction and
 “ help I might have had from you, which now, in
 “ absence, if I should pray you to perform by letter,
 “ I should seem little to consider the weight of your
 “ affairs. Yet let me intreat one hour of leisure
 “ be bestowed upon me, to direct me in such mat-
 “ ters, as in your judgment are fit for my instruction
 “ both for earriage in my public charge, and for
 “ that as may concern *rationes æconomicas*. If you
 “ please to descend to particularities, what judgment
 “ to make of such of our *English*, as live in the
 “ Court; with whom, of strangers, to hold cor-
 “ respondence; of whom to beware, what course of
 “ intelligence is to be observed; and what else you
 “ shall think fit to advise me; you know how much
 “ your fresh experience may rule me, and what ad-
 “ vantage I shall have at my entrance by so real
 “ favour. My wife is now going to my Lady
 “ [Edmondes] with the like petition to her, for her
 “ direction in her great affairs, which her late loss
 “ [of her son. who died the week before] can yet
 “ give her scarce leave to think on. If you con-
 “ tinue your purpose of having a grammar scholar,
 “ you may have him, that I told you of at *Etten-*
 “ whom my father *Savile* is willing to spare for his
 “ preferment, though otherwise he is of great use to
 “ him in his *Cbrysofom*. I would gladly entertain
 “ *Frenchman*, if *France* would afford such another, as
 “ you have with you [Mr. *John Beaulieu*]; and,
 “ you know of any fit for me, I pray you let me
 “ hear of him.” Sir *Tho. Edmondes* communicated
 to Mr. *Carleton* his own negotiations at *Brussels*
 for which the latter returned him a letter of thanks
 from *London* the 13th of *July* (w). “ I must a

(w) *Ibid.* p. 655.

“ know

knowledge, *says he*, with much thankfulness, the
 ivour you have done me in the sight of your ne-
 gotiations at *Brussels*, which was delivered me by
 your servant the same day I wrote last unto you ;
 and I have made bold ever since to keep the books
 with me, and will deliver them safe to my Lady at
 going. If I had sooner had them (as sooner could
 not well have been), I should not then have trou-
 bled you with a second request, of giving me
 some light of the state of that Court by letters ;
 for therein do I find an exact story of the time
 and every thing set out in so lively colours, that I
 had reason to content myself. Yet, in your letters
 of 27th *June*, and the 8th of this present, you
 have so well instructed me further, and given me
 such hope of Mr. *Trumbull's* help, that if *qui bene*
cepit, hath *dimidium cepti* [*facti*], I may account
 myself well advanced. Yet I must tell you, that
 my contentment in reading your dispatches hath
 been mixed with some grief, when I observe your
 course of weekly writing, and think, that the
 same diligence may be expected of a new nego-
 tiator. But I hope the quietness of the times
 will serve for excuse of some idleness ; and the
 mastery you got in so many conflicts over our re-
 bellious countrymen, will keep them, with small
 endeavour, from rising again ; so as I hope, in some
 part to be eased of one, which may be reckoned
 in the number of *Hercules's* labours for fighting
 with monsters. I am appointed to take leave
 of the King at his next being here, which will be
 betwixt this and *Friday* next, when the Parliam^t nt
 ends ; and the same day he begins his progress.”
 In this letter Mr. *Carleton* mentions, that when the
 remonstrance of the grievances was presented to the
 King by the Solicitor-General, and twenty Members
 of the house of Commons, “ The Lord Treasurer
 made a long and good narration, shewing the

“ reasons

320 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ reasons of those impositions, with all the cir
 “ stances, excusing himself for the invention o
 “ means to raise money upon the last Lord
 “ furer, for the occasion, upon the *Irish* war in
 “ *bartie*’s rebellion ; for the rating upon the
 “ chants, who being assembled from all parts o
 “ Kingdom, gave their assents ; and for the
 “ rantize upon the judges, who had confirmed
 “ proceedings in the general by a particular ju
 “ men ; so as where-ever the fault lay (if it we
 “ fault), my Lord stood *rectus in curia*, which n
 “ him take one thing somewhat tenderly, that
 “ from one of the lower house in debate of this r
 “ ter touching *Empson* and *Dudley* ; but, in r
 “ mens conceit, the matter was ill carried to
 “ Lord ; and it was rather *scandalum accep*
 “ than *datum*. My Lord, further to justify
 “ courses, had a private meeting that same ni
 “ with a select number of the lower house in *H*
 “ *Park*, which were Sir *Henry Neville*, Sir *Mau*
 “ *Barkley*, Sir *Ed. Sandys*, Sir *Her. Crofts*,
 “ *John Scott*, Sir *Francis Goodwin*, and Mr. *Alfi*
 “ with one more, whom I cannot remember. A
 “ howsoever the matter of impositions was the cl
 “ subject of their discourse, and the cause of th
 “ meeting ; yet, when knowledge was had of it
 “ the house, they were all suspected as plotters
 “ some new designs. And the great matter of t
 “ contract [*for the Court of Wards*] was in dang
 “ by this jealousy, to have sped the worse, whi
 “ most of these did seek to advance.”

The resolution of sending Mr. *Carleton* to *Br*
sels was soon after changed, and he was appoint
 Ambassador to *Venice*, as appears from the follo
 ing letter of his from *London*, the 25th of *Jul*
 to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* (x). “ It is now
 “ week since, that I sent a packet to your Lor
 “ shi

(x) Ibid. p. 689.

England, France, and Brussels. 321

ship, with two letters, of two days difference only in date, and of more difference in advertisement touching my private fortune: since which time every day hath bred alteration; and my course to *Brussels* was so far advanced, that both my privy-seal was drawn for that Employment, and I had order for my plate. But I see in these affairs, as in all other, *multa cadunt inter calicem*, i. e. for, having my hour assigned to be presented to the King, a consideration of the Archduke's unkindness to send hither (who first revoked his ambassador, and should therefore first send) diverted my course; and I was, at the same instant

I should have taken leave for that service, assigned to *Venice*. So as now this is the course, I am persuaded, without alteration; for my Lord [treasurer] doth not spare to publish it; and this by letters go to Sir *Henry Wotton*, to let him know his successor is appointed. I have likewise appointment to be at *Holdenby* the 7th of the next, to take leave of the King, and so to order my affairs, as to be at *Venice* about the beginning of *November*." He wrote again to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* the 9th of *August* from *London* (y), that he was, that day towards *Holdenby*, to take leave of the King; and purposed, by the end of that month, to go forwards in his journey to *Venice* thro' *France*. Accordingly waited upon the King there (z), and received the honour of knighthood from his Majesty; soon after began his journey, passing thro' *France*, where he spent three days with Sir *Thomas Edmondes* (a), and arrived at *Venice* about the middle of *November* (b).

He learned *Isaac Casaubon*, library-keeper to the King of *France*, being determined this year, by the

Ibid. p. 727. (z) *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. III.

(a) Ibid. p. 226.

(b) Ibid. p. 236.

322 *View of the Negotiations between*

death of *Henry IV.* his patron, and his eldest son *John's* turning Papist, to accept of King *James I.* invitation to *England* (c), Dr. *Richard Bancroft* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* the following letter (d):

My very good Lord,

" Monfr. *Casaubon* purposeth (as I take it) to come over into *England* with his wife and family
 " His Majesty hath already bestowed upon him a Prebend in *Canterbury*; and somewhat else will be shortly thought upon for his better maintenance
 " I pray your Lordship, when he shall repair unto you for that purpose, deliver unto him thirty pounds towards his charges of transporting, which my Lady *Edmondes* your wife hath received from me, as by her letter here inclosed may appear
 " And so, with my hearty commendations, I commit your Lordship to the tuition of Almighty God.

" At *Lambeth* the 26th of *June 1610.*"

Your Lordship's assured loving friend,

R. Ca

" This must be kept close, lest he be prevented or murdered in his journey." Tuus, R.

The defensive league between *England* and *France* being concluded in *August* this year, *Edward Lo Wotton*, Comptroller of the Household, elder brother of Sir *Henry Wotton*, was appointed Ambassador Extraordinary

(c) *Is. Casauboni vita*, p. 48, 49. præfixa epistolis illius Theodoro Janfon. ab Almelooveen editis. *Rotterdami 1709.* fo. 100
 (d) *Sir Tho. Edmondes's State-Papers*, Vol. VI. p. 609

ordinari

traordinary to *France*, in order to receive the oath of the Queen Regent: upon which occasion he wrote, on the 10th of that month, to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* (e), that it was no small comfort to him in this employment, falling upon him so unseasonably in his old age, that yet he should have the help and assistance of Sir *Thomas*, his *old acquaintance, and worthy friend, bred, says he, as it were, in the same school with me under Sir Francis Walsingham.*

Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, on the 11th of that month, wrote from *Paris* to Sir *Ralph Winwood* (f), that Prince *Maurice's* diligence in pursuing the siege of *Juliers* was very much suspected to the Court of *Paris*; not only because it was thought, that he did affect it, for his own particular honour, to carry that town before the arrival of the Marshal *de la Chastre*, the *French* General; but also because it tended to disappoint them in their purpose for procuring the sequestration of that town, which there had been great means made at *Paris* to effect. “And to that end, adds Sir *Thomas*, I understand, that “now lately there have been some new offers made “to deliver the town into the hands either of the “Prince of *Orange*, or the Marshal *de la Chastre*. “With these propositions a courier hath been sent “away to the Marshal, with the greatest diligence, “that he should endeavour to procure the acceptance “of them before the rendering of the town. And “truly, for my own opinion, I think, that it is not “without a common design from hence, that the “Count *de Bucquoy* should be sent to lodge near your “camp with some troops, to draw these Princes to “a necessity of yielding to that proposed sequestration.—Notwithstanding all the art and industry “that is used for the saving of that town, it doth not

(e) Ibid. p. 723.
p. 204.

(f) *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. III.

324 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ appear, that the *Spaniards* have any purpose to
 “ hazard the breaking the *truce* about the same,
 “ in regard of their want of means to enter into a
 “ new war.

“ The Duke of *Feria* is expected to arrive here
 “ out of *Spain* within six or seven days, who, be-
 “ sides the performing of the ceremony for the con-
 “ dolence, doth, as it is said, bring Commission
 “ with him for the treating of marriage between the
 “ Princes of that State and this; the which is soli-
 “ cited by the Pope, to the end to hold this State the
 “ more divided in their other alliances with the Pro-
 “ testant Princes: and the King would be glad, by
 “ such an offer, to break off the match with the
 “ Prince of *Savoy*.”

Monfr. *Le Vassor* (e) has a remark upon this sub-
 ject, which seems well founded, that the Queen Re-
 gent of *France* was persuaded, by her *Italian* confi-
 dents, who were bribed by the Court of *Spain*, that
 the establishment of her authority depended upon
 the good terms she was in with the Pope and King
 of *Spain*.

Sir *Thomas Edmondes* in the same letter adds, that
 Monfr. *de Villeroy* had of late withdrawn himself
 from the Court, upon discontentment for some un-
 kind usage offered him by *Concini* the Queen's fa-
 vourite; but that he was presently sent for back
 again by her Majesty, and now governed affairs more
 absolutely than ever.

In his next letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, of the
 18th of *August* (f), he takes notice of the Duke of
Savoy's having consented to the accommodating his
 differences with the King of *Spain*, and sent his Se-
 cretary to *Paris*, to signify, that he was content to
 accept of the pension, which had been offered him

(e) Hist. de *Louis XIII.* Vol. I. p. 55.
 Memorials, Vol. III. p. 208.

(f) *Winwood's*

from

from thence of 100,000 Crowns; and that he would send his second son to be brought up in the *French* Court; and go forward with the marriage of his eldest son and Madame of *France*; for which business, it was said, Monfr. *Jacob* was shortly to be sent thither.

Sir *Thomas* observes likewise, that the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Sully* were retiring themselves for a time to their houses; and it was said, that some other of the great men would follow shortly after, since they received no contentment in their treatment at the Court, in regard that they were excluded from the participation of affairs, which, for those of the chiefest importance, were carried between a very few persons.

The Lord *Wotton* arrived at *Paris* as Ambassador Extraordinary about the 8th of *September* 1610; and on *Sunday* the 11th of that month had audience of the young King, and Queen Regent, who received him with great kindness; and, on *Tuesday* the 13th, his Lordship, and Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, received the oath of her Majesty to the league lately concluded, the King being present; at which solemnity the people in general expressed the highest satisfaction, and as great disinclination to the *Spaniards* (g); and all good patriots in *France* shewed great contentment in the league with *England*: so that the Duke of *Feria*, finding that he should give cause of jealousy by his longer stay at *Paris*, and the humours of that place not so well prepared to work upon as he expected, procured order for his return (h), and soon after departed from *Paris*; as Lord *Wotton* likewise did in the beginning of *October*, being accompanied by *Isaac Casaubon* (i), who went over to *England* to make

(g) Mr. *Beaulieu* to Mr. *Trumfull*, from *Paris* 14 Sept. 1610. *ibid.* p. 217, 218.

(h) Sir *Thomas Edmondes* to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, from *Paris* 6 *October* 1610. *Ibid.* p. 225.

(i) *Ibid.* p. 225.

326 *View of the Negotiations between*

make trial, whether the condition, that was offered him for his settlement there, was to his liking. Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, in his letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood* of the 6th of *October*, in which he speaks of the Lord *Wotton's* reception and departure, observes, that the Pope's Nuncio had been earnestly in hand to set forward some marriages between *France* and *Spain*; but that, in the mean time, Monsr. *Jacob* was arrived at *Paris*, to urge the concluding of the first contract with the Prince of *Savoy*: That the *French* Court used all the means they could, to persuade the Duke of *Savoy* to the accommodating the differences between him and the King of *Spain*, to the end to discharge themselves from entering into war for him; and that it was by counsel from thence, that the Duke had lately sent his second son for a peace-offering into *Spain*. But some doubted, that if the Duke should find himself well treated by *Spain*, these proceedings might alienate his affections from *France*. That the same consideration, of being unwilling to interest themselves in other quarrels, made the *French* Court also very much desire the compounding of the differences of *Germany*; but that though they were loth to declare themselves actually in favour of their friends, yet it was to be hoped, that their authority would be a good means to keep things from growing to extremity. That the Duke of *Bouillon* had obtained permission of the Queen to conduct the young Prince Elector *Palatine*, his nephew, from *Sedan* to *Heidelberg*, when he should think fit, and to be assistant to him in settling his affairs; and that the Duke, before his

p. 225, 226. Dr. *Meric Casaubon*, his son, is mistaken in his *Pietas contra maledicos patrii nominis & religionis hostes*, p. 69. edit. *Lond.* 1621. in asserting, that his father came to *England* in company with Sir *Henry Wotton*, in *Cemitatu illustrissimi legati Henrici Wottoni*, instead of the Lord *Wotton*.

departure,

departure, sold his place of first Gentleman of the Chamber to *Concini* for the sum of twenty thousand pounds sterling; and that the said *Concini* had likewise bought lately the Marquisate d'*Ancre*, on the frontiers of *Picardy*, and the government of *Peronne*, *Roye*, and *Montdidier* adjoining to it, which were great purchases to be made together. "But, as this time, adds Sir Thomas, is favourable unto him for the speedy raising of his greatness, so it is as disfavourable to others for the maintenance of theirs, which they had before acquired, especially to the Duke of *Sully*, who is much discontented, for that the power of his former authority is abridged, which maketh him unwilling to continue the exercise of his place: but howsoever he stands upon these terms, there be too many pretenders to be sharers with him, to give him satisfaction to his desire. He is now absent, and hath been dangerously sick; but he is better amended, and shortly expected here."

Henry Prince of *Wales*, who was now in the seventeenth year of his age, and began to be extremely attentive to public affairs, both at home and abroad, had engaged Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, before his departure to *France*, to communicate to him the course of things there; and, on the 2d of *September* 1610, Mr. *Adam Newton*, a *Scotsman*, afterwards created a Baronet, and then Dean of *Durham*, though a Layman (*k*), wrote from *Richmond* to Sir *Thomas*, to remind him of his promise to his Royal Highness (*l*). "This opportunity offering itself so fitly, maketh me call unto your remembrance a promise, which his Highness allegeth you made unto him at your departure, of imparting unto him such occurrences, as that country yieldeth.

(*k*) *Wood. Athen. Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 420. & *Falti* col. 211.

(*l*) Sir *Tho Edmondes's* MS. *State-Papers*, Vol. VI. p. 739.

328 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ I find his Highness doth expect it ; and therefore
 “ presume to acquaint you therewith. If you direct
 “ your letters to me at any time, I shall be careful, that
 “ they go no further than ye yourself shall appoint.”

The *French* Court perceived very early the forwardness of this young Prince, and thought proper to try to secure him to their interest ; for *Secretar Villeroy* wrote to *Monfr. de la Boderie*, the *French* Ambassador in *England*, from *Fontainebleau* the 18th of *July* 1608, N. S. (*m*), “ That King *Henry IV*
 “ had told him, that he had more desire than ever
 “ to seek the friendship of the Prince of *Wales*, and
 “ for that purpose, to gratify those about him, as the
 “ Ambassador should judge fit ; since that King fore-
 “ saw, that the Prince would soon hold a rank wor-
 “ thy of him in *England*, on account of the little
 “ esteem, which was had of the Queen and King.”

The vivacity, spirit, and activity of the Prince soon gave umbrage to his father’s Court, which grew extremely jealous of him : and *Sir Thomas Edmondes* though at a distance, seems to have been sensible of this, and to have been the more cautious on that account in corresponding with his Royal Highness. However, he still continued upon very good terms with the Prince, as is evident from the following letter to him from *Sir Thomas Somerset*, third son of *Edward* Earl of *Worcester*, and afterwards Viscount *Somerset* of *Cassel* in *Ireland*, dated the 8th of *November* 1611 from *Whitehall* *. “ I have, accord-
 “ ing to your desire, presented your service to the
 “ Prince, who accepts your remembrance so kindly
 “ in this discourse, which I have made unto him, and
 “ he seems to desire nothing more than that, which
 “ you have by my mouth made offer to him. He
 “ well understands the state you live in, and allow

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(*m*) Lettres d’ *Henry IV* Roi de France, & de Messieurs de *Villeroy* & de *Puiseux*, à *Monfr. Antoine le Fevre de la Boderie* Tom. I. Let. 82 p. 314, 315.

* *Sir Thomas Edmondes’s* MS. State-Papers, Vol VIII p. 494

“ of your courfe. If words, with proteftations,
 “ may be believed, then are you happy, and I, your
 “ friend and fervant, well pleafed to have the ho-
 “ nour to let you know from his own mouth ; and,
 “ left I fhould not deliver it truly, he gave it me in
 “ writing to write to you : and thefe were his com-
 “ mandments, that I fhould fay : For the offer
 “ you made him by me, he thanks you, and would
 “ be very glad to fee the accomplifhing of it. And,
 “ concerning your not writing to him of the bufi-
 “ nefs there, he bids me tell you, that feeing, by
 “ this offer, he finds it hath not favoured of any
 “ want of affection to do him fervice, but out of a
 “ fear of evil ufage, if it fhould have been known ;
 “ he will not think the worfe of you for it.
 “ And, to the end he do nothing to your prejudice,
 “ who he finds fo willing to ferve him, he wills me to
 “ demand of you, whether he fhall make the King
 “ acquainted with this motion ; and he faith, if he
 “ do, he will not, unlefs you like it, let him know
 “ it comes from you ; and, if he do, he will ever
 “ have care of your fafety. And all this he warrants
 “ me to tell you as from himfelf.

“ P. S. Sir *Thomas Overbury* is received again
 “ into the Court.”

In the latter end of *November* of the year 1610,
 Sir *Thomas Edmondes* caufed a certain *Italian* to be
 apprehended in the fuburbs of *Paris*, upon notice
 given, that the latter, in his private difcourfes with
 fome, who lay in the fame lodgings, maintained opi-
 nions, which favoured altogether of the doctrine of
Mariana and *Bellarmino*. He had divers times
 maintained, that, if he had killed the King of *Eng-
 land*, he would think himfelf abfolved of all his fins ;
 adding, that he had a purpofe fhortly to go to *Eng-
 land*. He was a man of a mean fafhion, of a ftern
 and melancholy look, who fpoke good *Latin* ; a Ro-
 man

man born, and lately came from *Ss. Jago de Compostella* in *Spain*, where he had been in pilgrimage. His papers being searched, there were found, among the rest, some long papers full of characters, whereby, he said, he hoped to be saved from all danger by sea and by land. He would not acknowledge to have spoken any thing in particular against the King of *England*; only he said, he had maintained, in general terms, that it was lawful and meritorious to kill and make war against Heretics, after they had been excommunicated by the Pope. But he, with whom he had the discourse more particularly, did maintain it further unto him, and deposed it by writing, that he himself had threatened, in plain words, to kill the King, and to make himself commendable by that famous act. Upon these depositions, by two or three witnesses, Sir *Thomas Edmondes* referred the cause to the Chancellor of *France*, who promised exactly to examine the same, and to do justice therein (*n*).

About this time Sir *Thomas* had a dispute with the Court of *France*, which had forgot to make him a present, as they had done to the Lord *Wolton* upon the Queen Regent's taking the oath to the defensive League with *England*. He having complained of this, orders were given for a present to him of the value of fifteen to sixteen hundred crowns and accordingly an hat-band, adorned with diamonds, computed to be of about that price, was carried to him by *Monfr. de Bonneuil*, and accepted by him with great demonstrations of satisfaction. But, four or five days after, he sent to the lodging of that Gentleman, by one of his domestics, a packe inclosing part of the said hat-band, which he had cut in two, sending the other part to the lodgings of G

(*n*) Mr. *Beaulieu* to Mr. *Trumbull*, Paris 27th Nov. 1610. *Woolf's Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 254.

rault, keeping only the principal buckle of the hat-band for himself. Messieurs *Bonneüil* and *Girault*, having opened the packets, and finding the diamonds in them, judged, that Sir *Thomas* was extremely displeased, and informed Secretary *Villeroy* of the affair; to whom Sir *Thomas* himself came two or three days after, and represented to him what he had done, and the reasons of it; saying, that he caused the hat-band, which he knew came from *Concini*, to be valued; and that the Goldsmiths had prized it but at six or seven hundred crowns, offering to make a new one for that money: "I was "forry" (says Secretary *Villeroy* (o), in his letter to Monsr. *de la Boderie*, of the 23d of November 1610, N.S. "for this affair, of which I had not the least "knowledge; and, after remonstrating to him, that "he might have acted in another manner, without "shewing so much resentment and contempt of "a mark of their Majesties good-will and liberality, "I took the resolution of procuring that present to "be changed for another of gilt plate of the same value "of fifteen to sixteen hundred crowns; of which I shall "inform him by the *Sieur Girault*, to know whether "he will accept it, before we send it to him. We "have learned by his answer, that he had determined "to refuse it, having used such language upon the "subject, as discovered great discontent and contempt; with which the Queen is extremely offended; and especially as this *little Man* (p) "makes open profession of an extraordinary affection "to the house of *Guise*, even to the going to the "house of the Princess of *Conti* the day, when the "Embassador Extraordinary from *Venice* visited

(o) *Lettres d'Henry IV. &c.* Tom. II. Let. 32. p. 252, & seqq. (p) Sir *Thomas* was *small of stature*. Le petit *Edmont*, says *Sully* in his letter to *Henry IV.* Part. II. Tom. III. p. 405. Little *Mr Edmondes*, says *Mr. Naunton*, in his letter of 28th Nov. 1597. See above, p. 64.

"her,

“ her, in order to assist in doing the honours of
 “ the house; and publicly declared, that he had
 “ his King’s commands to do so. He pretended
 “ likewise, that we were obliged to make our ac-
 “ knowledgments towards him, on occasion of this
 “ present, for the long residence, which he had for-
 “ merly made in this Kingdom, during which he
 “ pretends to have done many and signal services to
 “ *France*, and the late King; and that he ought to
 “ be treated, if not upon a foot of equality with the
 “ Lord *Wotton*, at least with half the value of the
 “ present, which had been made to him, and which
 “ had cost four thousand crowns. This proceeding
 “ of his has so highly displeased the Queen, to whom
 “ it has been reported, that he has talked, upon this
 “ subject, things not very proper, that she has
 “ thought fit to order the gilt plate to be stopped,
 “ though equal in value to what was presented to
 “ the *Venetian* Embassadors, who were well satisfi-
 “ ed. This affair gives us great concern; for you
 “ know the temper of Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, whose
 “ conduct it will be very difficult likewise for the
 “ Queen to have a good opinion of hereafter, since
 “ she had already conceived a bad one enough, for
 “ the reasons, which I have written to you; and this
 “ may be more prejudicial to the preserving of the
 “ good understanding between the Crowns, than we
 “ desire and have occasion to manage: though those
 “ will not be sorry for it, who are disgusted with
 “ what we hope for, and the factious, who are pret-
 “ ty numerous, and whose fingers itch; and, among
 “ others, the Duke of *Bouillon*: And, in fact, I
 “ understand, that this latter blames what has been
 “ done in this case on the part of the Queen; of
 “ which the Duke of *Guise*, and his followers, will
 “ make all the advantages they can. Let me know
 “ what you think to be proper to be done; and whe-
 “ ther there is a means of procuring Sir *Thomas*
 “ *Ed-*

mondes to be employed elsewhere; which would a great relief to the Queen, who will have all fible reason to apprehend his resenting this affair. However, I am not of opinion, that you would make this proposall; for, if it does not succeed, it will only serve to exasperate this little man, who has spirit and courage enough. And indeed am sorry for this misunderstanding, which does proceed wholly from his fault, though he is not absolutely innocent." An addition was afterwards to the gilt plate, and the whole amounted to the of two thousand crowns; and it was then offered to *Thomas*, who readily accepted it (*q*).

Isaac Casaubon, upon his arrival in *England* with *Lord Wotton*, was received with great civility by the learned men and persons of distinction, and often the honour of conversing with the himself (*r*); and, besides his prebend of *Canterbury*, enjoyed a pension out of the *Exchequer* of three hundred pounds a year, as appears from a letter of *Packer*, from *Whitehall*, to *Sir Thomas Edmondes*, the 17th of *January* 1610-11 (*s*); in which he himself observes, that *Casaubon*, on *Christmas* day, received the communion in the *King's Chapel*, though he understood not the language. And that same man, in his diary, mentions his having been admitted to the communion *pridie Non. Jan.* 1611, in the Church of *England*, whose office for the Sacrament he had carefully considered the day before, and was approved of, and greatly preferred to the manner of receiving it in other Churches. *Gratias Domine, quod bodie ad sacram mensam sum adsum, & corporis Christi sanguinisque factus sum ceptus in Ecclesiâ Anglicanâ, cujus formulam veri*

Monfr. de Puisieux to *Monfr. de la Boderie*, *Paris* 18 Dec. Ibid. p. 266. (*r*) *Isaaci Casauboni Vita à Theodoro ab Almelooven*, p. 53, 54. (*s*) *Sir Tho. Edmondes's MS. Papers*, Vol. VI. p. 411.

334 *View of the Negotiations between
diligenter meditatus admodum probavi, &
agendi mirè laudavi præ receptâ apud alios
tudine (t).*

The Court of *France* was now distracted w
factions and contests of the Great Men, of w
Thomas Edmondes's letters are full. The *Pi*
Conti, in particular, had a quarrel, on the 1st
January 1610-11, with the Count *de Soisson*.
Duke of *Guise* joining with the Prince his brot
law, and the Prince of *Condé* with the Cou
uncle; though they were soon after, in som
sure, reconciled. " It was by many thought
" *Sir Thomas (v)*, that the falling out of the
" would have wrought a change in the resol
" the cause of the Duke of *Sully*; but, after
" peasing of these differences, the adverse parti
" forward with their designs against him; &
" cause he had made offer to resign his plac
" took him at his word; and have besides
" him to consent to yield up the government
" *Bastille*, pretending it is not fit he should
" the keeping of the treasure, seeing he quitted
" place. There is given him the recompence,
" he demanded, of one hundred thousand ci
" and it is said also, that he hath the grant of
" shall's place. But, notwithstanding this co
" favourable dismissal, his adversaries go ab
" opposition be not made thereunto, to bring
" question about corruptions committed in his
" It is not as yet resolved to what persons the
" of the Superintendency of the Finances
" be appointed, wherein the Queen is tr
" what order to take; for that the Princes

(t) *Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ singulares, collectione*
Colomesio, ad Calcem editionis epistol. S. Clementis ad
p. 351. edit. Lond. 1694. (v) Letter to *Sir Ralph D*
from *Paris*, 23d of January 1610, O.S. *Winwood's Me*
Vol. III. p. 253.

“ Blood would assume to themselves the chief authority thereof, which cannot be good for the Queen to permit ; and she knoweth not almost whom to subrogate for the well discharge of that place. The Duke of *Sully* is generally accused by all his friends, for having, out of weakness of courage, yielded to this resignation, otherwise than he needed to have done ; for that he was promised, by powerful friends, that they would have maintained him against his enemies. But it is said, he governed his resolutions according to the motions of his natural disposition, which hath been observed to be as dejected in adversity, as it is too much raised in prosperity. Notwithstanding his private imperfections, there is generally great discontentment taken, that he is removed ; for that he hath been so profitable a servant to the State.” In the same letter he takes notice, that the Parliament of *Paris* was much busied in examining the informations of a woman, who accused the Duke d’*Espernon*, Mademoiselle *du Tillet*, and the Marquise de *Verneuil*, Henry IV.’s mistress, to have held correspondence with *Ravaillac*, who murdered that King. And that, though this information was not held true in the main point of it, yet she had spoken with such probability concerning some other accidents, as made the judgment of that matter to be held in suspense, to the great disadvantage of those persons.

Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, in his next letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, on the 7th of February 1610-11, O. S. (w), observes, that, after a long deliberation for settling a form to govern the affairs of the Finances, it was resolved, that the Queen should hold the place of *Surintendency* of the Finances in her own hands ; and that all warrants for business should be signed by

(w) Ibid. p. 254.

336 *View of the Negotiations between*

herself; but, for the execution of that charge,
 President *Jeannin* was made Comptroller Gene-
 ral and Monfr. *de Chasteauneuf* and the President
 joined with him, to be his assistants in that cha-
 rge. Besides which, there were other three former officers
 called Messieurs *de Meaupeau, Arnould, and Atti*
 who were *Intendants*. "The Duke *de Sully*, a-
 " he, proposeth nothing else to himself now, than
 " withdraw himself from hence, having first m-
 " a journey to his house in *Normandy*, and at
 " wards he intendeth to go to his government
 " *Poitou*. And to the end, that those of *the Ki-*
 " *ngion* should take no alarm at the removing
 " him, there have been letters written to the sev-
 " eral Provinces, to make it known, that it was
 " the Duke's own desire to be discharged from the
 " office of the Finances, and the government of
 " *Bastille*, and that he demanded the recompense
 " of one hundred thousand crowns for the said
 " But, for the contradiction of that report, th-
 " he runneth abroad a letter under the name of
 " the Duke, as written to the Queen, wherein he de-
 " clares very much accuse the proceeding, which hath be-
 " come held towards him, and maketh declaration of
 " his merit towards the State: which letter hath mu-
 " ch displeased the Queen; but the Duke will not
 " acknowledge, that it was written by his conse-
 " cution, though it was the pen of his Secretary." He
 " likewise, that, upon the report of the Duke of *Savoy*
 " preparing to besiege *Geneva*; it had been resolv-
 " ed by the Court of *France*, to dispatch Monfr. *de Be-*
 " *rault* to him with Commission, first to thank
 " the Duke for the kind office, which he had rendered
 " to the King and Queen, in sending to visit them, and
 " to condole with them for the death of the late King
 " and secondly, to acquaint the Duke with the alarm
 " which the people of *Geneva*, and the *Swiss*, took of
 " his purpose to enterprize against them; who, being the
 "

England, France, and Brussels. 337

if the Crown of *France*, the Queen was bound to take, in such case, the protection of them; and fore to desire the Duke, that he would take away occasions of those suspicions, by the discharging of forces. And, thirdly, to desire the Duke, that he would be content to defer the concluding the act of marriage with Madame, because it did stand with the commodity of their affairs as yet to patch the same. Upon this alarm taken of besieging of *Geneva*, Monsr. *de la Noue* was sent off for the defence of that city; and the Queen said, that she would send an army for the succour of it, in case it should be besieged; and Mr. *de Bezbune*, and some others, offered (if there should be need) to put themselves, with voluntary armies, into the town. But the Ambassador of France protested, that his Master intended no such thing; and that the raising of this report was a practice to put his Master into an ill opinion with the King of France, in order to make it a pretence for delaying the conclusion of the marriage, to which were so strictly bound, both by the contracts of the King, and by the often reiterated promises of the late Regent since: Which indeed, says Sir Thomas Edmondes, is the true cause, to the end to enter into offers of Spain; for of the besieging of *Geneva* is no appearance.

Sandford, who had been, as was observed Sir Thomas Edmondes's chaplain at Brussels, engaged to attend, in the same capacity, Sir Digby, afterwards Earl of Bristol, in his Embassy to Spain, sent Sir Thomas his *Entrance to the Tongue*, which he had just printed, for the use of the Ambassador's company, at London, in 4to. and read him, by a letter from thence on the 6th of 1610-11 (x), of Sir John Digby's intention of

338 *View of the Negotiations between*

sending his family to *Spain* by sea, and affixing with his Lady through *France*: "And indeed, says he, "there is great reason for it; for in her safety, and "her young son's, is shipped the greatest stay of our "present fortunes, the estate, which Sir *John* doth "now enjoy by her, being set at twelve hundred "pounds by the year; her son also being a tender "child, and the last of his name in *England*, who, "if he should fail, his fair estate would clean be "dissipated: I might add also, his eldest brother "Sir *Robert Digby*'s heir, that is to be baron of *de* "Faile in *Ireland*, besides his father's inheritance "here in *England*." Sir *John Digby* accordingly took his journey through *France*, and from *Sebastien* wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, on the 8th of *May* 1611 (y); and afterwards corresponded with him when he came to *Madrid*, where he arrived on the 6th of *June* (z).

Mr. *George Calvert* was another of Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s correspondents. He returned from *France* in the beginning of *March* 1610-11, and, on the 7th of that month, wrote to Sir *Thomas*, a letter from *London*, in which he observed (a): "The "Bishop of *London* [*Abbot*], by a strong north wind "coming out of *Scotland*, is blown over the *Thames* "to *Lambeth*, the King having professed to the Bi- "shop himself, as also to the Lords of his Council, "that it is neither the respect of his learning, his "wisdom, nor his sincerity (although he is well "persuaded there is not any one of them wanting in "him) that hath moved him to prefer him before "the rest of his fellows; but merely the recommen- "dation of his faithful servant *Dunbar*, that is "dead, whose suit, on the behalf of the Bishop, he

(y) Ibid. Vol VII. p. 144. (z) Ibid. p. 263. (a) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, Vol. VI. p. 432.

"cannot

cannot forget; nor will not suffer to lose his intention." Mr. Calvert adds, that Sir Henry Wren, who arrived a few days before, went, the before the date of his letter, to the King at Roy-
; which is the first access he hath had. He is
; as I understand, and his spirits almost come
; their right place, and settled. The beginning of this
; month Sir John Digby begins his journey.

Mr. Calvert, who was born at Kypling in the Cha-
; of Bolton in Yorkshires, and educated in Trinity
; College in Oxford, had been Under-secretary to Sir
; Cecil, principal Secretary of State, by whose
; he was made one of the Clerks of the Coun-
; In 1617 he was knighted by King James I (a).
; on the 15th of February 1618-19, made Secre-
; of State (b); which post he held till the latter
; of the year 1624, when, having been thought
; ally devoted to the Spanish interest, it was thought
; per to remove him from all employments;
; which threw him into great discontent; and as de-
; facit monachum, so he professed himself, for
; third time, a Papist, and had leave to resign his
; tary's place to Sir Albertus Morton for three
; hundred pounds (c); and, on the 16th of February
; 1625, was created Baron Baltimore in Ireland (d).
; The King's favourite, Sir Robert Carr, was, in the
; January of the year 1611, advanced to the title of
; son of Branspeth, and, on the 9th of April, to that
; Viscount of Rochester, and the next month in-
; lled Knight of the Garter (e). He was born near
; Kiburgb, had been page to his Majesty, while he
; King of Scots, and was afterwards knighted by
; him, and became Gentleman of his Bed-chamber,

(a) Wood, Athen. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 565.

(b) Camdeni

males Regis Jacobi I. p. 41.

(c) Archbishop Abbot to Sir

mas Roe, from Lambeth, 30th March 1625. Sir Thomas Roe's
; negotiations with the Grand Signor, p. 372.

(d) Wood,

supra.

(e) Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi I. p. 8.

340 *View of the Negotiations between*

and, upon the Earl of *Dunbar's* death in 1610, *Lord Treasurer of Scotland* (f). His chief friend was the unfortunate Sir *Thomas Overbury*, who had been knighted, by his recommendation, in 1608, and was *Sewer* to the King; and being now, as Mr. *George Calvert* wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, from *London* on the 6th of *May* 1611 (g), the *Lord Viscount Rochester's* only favourite, by his Lordship's means, procured a reversion of the office of *Treasurer of the Chamber* after the *Lord Stanhope*: And I bear, adds Mr. *Calvert*, that of my late *Lord Viscount Rochester* has been dealing with my *Lord Stanhope* to have the possession of it for *Overbury* at *midsummer* next; which precipitation my *Lord Stanhope* mislikes, though it is in his power to keep or part withal.

Casaubon, notwithstanding his advantageous settlement in *England*, was not long satisfied with it which occasioned Sir *Dudley Carleton* to write from *Venice* to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, on the 25th of *June* 1611, in these severe terms (b): "I am sorry Mr. *Casaubon*, or rather his wife, doth not know when it is well. The conditions he hath in *England* are such, that some principal scholars of *Germany* which are as well and better at home than he *France*, would think themselves happy to have and so have I understood from them since he coming hither. If ever he turn his religion, I shall see him a wretched contemptible fellow, else I am a false prophet." *Casaubon* indeed appears from his letters, not to have been pleased with the manners of the *English*; and in one to *Thomas* from *London*, of the 9th of *November* 1612, complains, that those, who were acquainted with

(f) Archbishop *Spotiswood's* History of the Church of Scotland, L. vii. p. 516. and *Arthur Wilson's* Life of King *James* p. 54, 55, edit. *London* 1653, fol.

(g) Sir *Tho. Edmond*

MS. State-Papers, Vol. VII. p. 122.

(b) Ibid. p. 273.

before he came to *England*, now treated him as perfect stranger, and took not the least notice of him by conversation or letter. *Ego mores Anglo- rum non capio: quoscunque ipse habui notos priusquam venirem, jam ego illis sum ignotus, verè peregrinus, hucus: nemo illorum me vel verbulo appellat, apertus flet (i).*

The Court of *France* still continued a scene of confusion; and Sir *Thomas Edmondes* wrote to Sir *Philip Winwood*, from *Paris*, on the 19th of *December* 1611 (k), that that city had been in strong agitation since the arrival of Count *de Soissons*,

his high discontentments would have brought a great innovation in that Court; for that to revenge himself upon the Chancellor (whom he accused of having been the chief instrument of doing ill offices with the Queen, and having hindered her from receiving satisfaction in his demands) he pressed no less than the deposing of him, in regard to the great corruptions, with which he charged him in the exercise of his place: That this very much troubled and perplexed the Queen, since she found,

the Prince of *Condé* and the *Constable* adhered to the Count; and thereupon she had recourse to the house of *Guise*, to be assisted by them, in case the Count's threatenings should have broke forth into action. "But there never was, continues Sir *Thomas*, any opinion, that it would prove any thing else but a *French boutade*, as it hath fallen out; or that some days since there was a reconciliation made between the Queen and the Count *Soissons*, and there is labouring also to effect the like between him and the Chancellor. The Count doth exceedingly inveigh against the making of the mar-

(i) *Isaac Casauboni* Epistol. DCCCXLI. p. 506. edit: *Rotterdam* 1709, fol. (k) *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. III. p.

342 *View of the Negotiations between*

“riages with *Spain*, saying, that as the Queen and
 “the Ministers of State had no power to conclude
 “the said marriages during the minority of the King
 “so he held it for a certain maxim, that it is im-
 “possible for the State to live in good intelligence
 “with that of *Spain*; and therefore to give discon-
 “tentment by these alliances to the State of *England*
 “and the *United Provinces*, was directly to deprive
 “the State of their most assured allies. But of these
 “things the great men here do speak the more
 “feelingly for their own interest sake, because they
 “find, that the Queen hath strengthened herself with
 “the alliance of *Spain*, to the end to have the better
 “means to bridle them.” In the same letter Sir Thomas
 takes notice of a great misfortune of the President
Jeannin, who had the day before lost his only son in
 a duel with one of Queen *Margaret*’s followers, upon
 a quarrel about a gentlewoman, who belonged to
 that Queen; for which accident the Queen Regent
 and the whole Court went to condole with the Presi-
 dent.

An alliance had been forming, for some months
 past, between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, by
 a double marriage, between *Lewis XIII.* and *Anna*
 of *Austria*, the *Infanta* of *Spain*; and between *Eliz-
 abeth* of *France*, that King’s eldest sister, and *Philip*,
Prince of *Spain*, afterwards *Philip IV.* but the mat-
 ter had been kept secret till the 16th of *January*,
 1611-12 (1), when the Queen Regent of *France* as-
 sembled at the *Louvre* all the Princes and Officers of
 the Crown, and acquainted them with the conclusion
 of those marriages. “This manner of proceeding
 “says Sir Thomas Edmondes(m), was found some

(1) *Memoires concernant les Affaires de France sous la Re-
 gence de Marie de Medicis*, Tom. I. p. 84. edit. de la Haye 172
 (m) Letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, from *Paris*, 19 *January* 161
Q. S. Winwood’s Memorials, Vol. III. p. 325.

“wh

“ what strange, that she only imparted unto them
 “ what she had resolved and concluded in that busi-
 “ ness, without having either before or now de-
 “ manded their opinions concerning that important
 “ action. Many of them did approve of it as a ve-
 “ ry happy work; but the Princes of the blood,
 “ and some others, answered, that though the mar-
 “ riages were not to be disliked for themselves, yet,
 “ notwithstanding that, there ought be great care
 “ taken so to assure their friendship with their other
 “ allies, as that the jealousy, which they may con-
 “ ceive by reason of these marriages, may not be an
 “ occasion to weaken the amity between them.”

The publication of these marriages was performed at *Paris*, the 25th of *March* 1612, with great solemnity; but Sir *Thomas Edmondes* observes (n), that *the Court was exceeding great for the number, yet there was not any the least applause given to so great an action. They would have been glad to have then proceeded to the signing of the contract; but it is said they are forced to defer the same by reason of the absence of the Princes of the blood, who should concur in that action*; the Count de *Soissons*, in particular, having left *Paris* two days before the publication of the marriages.

The Duke of *Bouillon*, with whom Sir *Thomas* had for many years kept a very strict correspondence, was now appointed *Embassador Extraordinary to England*, in order to acquaint King *James* with the double marriages, and to allay the jealousy, which might be occasioned by them; and to assure his Majesty, that, notwithstanding this new alliance with *Spain*, the Queen Regent of *France* would be always ready to maintain with him the same strictness of amity, which was between *Henry IV.* and him; and that, for this

(n) Letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, from *Paris*, 26 *March* 1612, O.S. Ibid p. 349.

344 *View of the Negotiations between*

purpose, he would join both means and counsels with him for maintaining of the States General, and the affairs of *Germany*, especially in that crisis of the election of a new Emperor. He was instructed likewise to treat of the debt due from *France* to the King, and to contract a marriage between *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, and *Christine* the second daughter of *France*; for which purpose he was to offer the same sum, which had been given with *Madame* to the Prince of *Spain*, which was 500,000 Crowns^(o). The Duke was likewise charged to complain of King *James's* having entered into the league of the Protestant Princes in *Germany* against the Catholic Religion; and to procure, that the rigour of the laws in *England* against the Catholics of that country might be moderated; a point, which the Pope had extremely at heart, and for which he had recourse to the Queen Regent's intercession. Lastly, the Duke had express orders to get that King to disapprove the conduct of the *Calvinists* in their assembly at *Saumur* the last year. These three last instructions were certainly very strange ones to be undertaken by a *Calvinist*, as the Duke was; but he performed them with an exactness suitable to the character of an Ambassador of a *Roman Catholic* Prince^(p); and at the same time succeeded in his own design of negotiating a marriage between the young Elector *Palatine*, his nephew, and the Princess *Elizabeth* of *England*^(q).

The Duke set forward from *Paris* upon his journey for *England* about the middle of *April* 1612; and arrived at *London* the 26th, as appears from a letter written the next day, from *Whitehall*, by *William* Earl of *Pembroke* to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, who

^(o) Mr. *Beaulieu* to Mr. *Trumbull*, from *Paris*, 18 *April* 1612, O. S. Ibid. p. 358. ^(p) Marfollier, Hist. de Duc de Bouillon, Tom. II. L. vi. p. 371, 372. edit. *Paris* 1719. ^(q) Ibid. p. 370, and 382.

had

I recommended his Lordship to the Duke's friendship (r). " You did me, *says the Earl*, a great deal of honour in naming me to the Duke of *Bouillon*, and in seeking to make an inward correspondency between us ; which shall be by me most willingly embraced, because I assure myself, he is sincerely affected to the good of religion in general, and in particular to his Majesty's honour and service ; and therefore will omit no opportunity, that may give furtherance unto it. For your own particular, assure yourself, that I am the same man you left me ; and the love I bore you, I bear still ; which shall ever employ itself, to the best of my power, to procure you a worthy reward for so many great and painful services ; and I doubt not, if God send my Lord Treasurer to recover his perfect health, to work so with him, as you shall have no cause to think you have unworthily placed your affection upon me. He is this day going to *Kensington*, and so onward to the *Bath*, with as many hopeful signs, as is possible for any to have in so dangerous a sickness ; and, which is best, he is very confident of himself : yet I cannot say he is past all danger."

Mr. R. *Kyrkham*, Secretary to the Lord Treasurer, had promised Sir *Thomas Edmondes* to acquaint him with such particulars, as he should learn concerning the Duke of *Bouillon's* negotiation in *England* ; and accordingly wrote him a letter on the 1 of *May* 1612 (s) ; but observed, that he knew little thereof, in regard the Duke treated always with the King alone, and not with any of the Lords of the Council, " as I confess, *says he*, I can give you but little satisfaction therein. The Duke had often conference with his Majesty, and did deliver

(r) Sir *Thomas Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. VII. p. 588.

(s) Ibid. p. 644.

346 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ to him sundry memorials, the effect whereof was
 “ to give his Majesty an account of their Proceed-
 “ ings with *Spain*; and how much they desired, not
 “ withstanding these new alliances, to continue still
 “ their ancient amity both with his Majesty, and with
 “ other Princes and States. For the matter of the
 “ debt, I think there was little speech thereof, so as
 “ it rests in the same terms as before, to be trans-
 “ ferred upon the States. The Duke hath, as I
 “ hear, been very earnest in the overture for a treaty
 “ between the Prince and the Lady *Christine*; but
 “ know not with what success. He was likewise
 “ earnest, that there might be a concurrency and equal
 “ proceeding between the two Crowns, in the af-
 “ fairs which concern the *United Provinces*, so as
 “ there might be no jealousy of seeking a particular
 “ interest in them, which would be an occasion of
 “ making one party to forsake them. Whereupon it
 “ is thought fit, that there shall be a correspondence
 “ between the Ministers of either Kingdom, and
 “ that they shall communicate such occurrences and
 “ counsels, as concern the States. For the matter
 “ of *Germany*, he did represent unto his Majesty
 “ how necessary it was to hinder and prevent the
 “ greatness of the house of *Austria*: And that his
 “ Majesty might be advertised, from time to time,
 “ of such things, as happened amongst those Princes,
 “ he did particularly recommend unto him *Mr. De-
 kenson*, who is now employed at *Dusseldorp*, as
 “ a person fit to reside at *Heidelberg*, or some other
 “ convenient place, for that purpose.”

While the Duke of *Bouillon* was in *England*, Sir
Thomas Edmondes lost his great friend and patron,
 the Earl of *Salisbury*, Lord High Treasurer, who
 died of a lingering illness, which at last turned to a
 scurvy and dropsy, at *Marlborough* in *Wiltshire*, in
 return from *Bath*, on Sunday the 24th of May
 1612.

The Earl of Dorset, son of his predecessor, in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmondes (t), speaks with some severity of his memory. *When great men die, says he, such is either their desert, or the malice of people, or both together, as commonly they are ill spoken of; and so is one, that died but lately; more, I think, than ever any one was, and in more several kinds: and his death hath wiped away the memory of others misdeeds, and, as it were, extinguished their faults, his being, if not greater, yet fresher in every man's mouth and memory.* But it will be but justice to the character of so eminent a person as the Earl of Salisbury, to consider him, as he now appears to us from fuller and more impartial lights, than the ignorance or envy of his own time would admit of; and which may be opposed to the general invectives and unsupported libels of *Weldon* and *Wilson*, the scandalous chroniclers of the last age.

He was evidently a man of quicker parts, and a more spirited writer and speaker, than his father, to whose experience he was at the same time obliged for his education and introduction into public business, in the management of which he was accounted, and perhaps justly, more subtle, and less open. And this opinion of his bias to artifice and dissimulation was greatly owing to the singular address, which he shewed in penetrating into the secrets and reserved powers of the foreign Ministers, with whom he treated; and in evading, with uncommon dexterity, such points, as they pressed, when it was not convenient to give them too explicit an answer.

His correspondence with King *James*, during the life of Queen *Elizabeth*, was so closely and artfully managed, that he escaped a discovery, which would have ruined his interest with his Royal Mistress, tho'

(c) From *Dorset-house*, 22 June 1612. Ibid. Vol. VIII. p. 61.
he

348 *View of the Negotiations between*

he afterwards justified that correspondence from a regard to her service. “ For what, *says he* *, could
 “ more quiet the expectation of a successor, so many
 “ ways invited to jealousy, than when he saw her
 “ ministry, that were most inward with her, wholly
 “ bent to accommodate the present actions of State for
 “ his future safety, when God should see his time?”
 He was properly a sole Minister, though not under the denomination of a favourite, his Master having a much greater awe of than love for him; and he drew all business, both foreign and domestic, into his own hands, and suffered no Ministers to be employed abroad, but who were his dependents, and with whom he kept a most constant and exact correspondence: but the men, whom he preferred to such employments, justified his choice, and did credit to the use he made of his power. He appears to have been invariably attached to the true interest of his country, being above corruption from, or dependence upon, any foreign Courts; which renders it not at all surprising, that he should be abused by them all in their turns; as his attention to all the motions of the Popish faction made him equally odious to them. He fully understood the *English* constitution, and the just limits of the prerogative; and prevented the fatal consequences, which might have arisen from the frequent disputes between King *James I.* and his Parliaments. In short, he was as good a Minister, as that Prince would suffer him to be, and as was consistent with his own security in a factious and corrupt Court; and he was even negligent of his personal safety, whenever the interest of the public was at stake. His post of Lord Treasurer, at a time when the Exchequer was exhausted

* Letter to Sir *Henry Wotton*, 29 March 1608. Letters of the *Sidney* family, Vol. II p 326.

the King's boundless profusion, was attended with infinite trouble to him, in concerting schemes for raising the supplies; and the manner in which he is obliged to raise them, with the great fortune, which he accumulated to himself, in a measure beyond perhaps the visible profits of his places, exposed him to much detraction and popular clamour, which followed him to his grave; though experience showed, that the nation sustained an important loss by his death; since he was the only Minister of state of real abilities during the whole course of that reign. He has been thought too severe and vindictive in the treatment of his rivals and enemies: on the part, which he acted towards the Earl of Essex, seems intirely the result of his duty to his Mistress and the Nation. It must, however, be confessed, that his behaviour towards the great, but unfortunate Sir *Walter Raleigh* is an imputation upon him, which still remains to be cleared up; and it probably may be done from the ample Memorials of his administration in the *Hatfield Library*, which, with those of his illustrious Father, are a treasure, which the public has reason to regret should be longer confined there.

The post of Lord Treasurer was kept vacant for above two years, when *Thomas Howard* Earl of *Suffolk* was advanced to it*: But the secret of affairs came immediately into the hands of the King's favourite, the Lord Viscount *Rochester*; who, says Sir *Thomas Lake*, in a letter to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* from the Court at *Amptbill*, 23d July 1612 (v),
 "groweth potent in affairs here; and therefore you
 "shall do wisely to respect him thereafter. He
 "hath now the Signets delivered to him, which,
 "since the Lord Treasurer's death, have remained

* *Camdeni Annale: Regis Jacobi I.* p. 10. (v) *Ibid.* p. 111.

" with

350 *View of the Negotiations between,*

“ with me by way of custody, as they did in his
 “ sickness, and have done often before in his ab-
 “ sence. But this maketh much discourse here,
 “ what his Lordship’s ends may be.” Mr. *Rom-*
land Whyte writes to the same purpose to Sir *Tho-*
mas from the Court at *Albby*, the Lord *Comptroler*’s
 house, on the 30th of the same month (*w*), observ-
 ing, that the Lord *Rochester* “ keepeth all the Signet-
 “ seals, and makes daily dispatches into all parts, as
 “ the King’s service requires it; and most dispatches
 “ are addressed unto him from all parts. The doc-
 “ quets for all things, that must pass the signet,
 “ are brought to his Honour to be allowed of as
 “ they be dispatched. It is thought, that his Ho-
 “ nour will be one of the principal Secretaries, and
 “ some other, that he shall like of.” Mr. *George*
Calvert likewise, in his letter from his house at *Cher-*
ring-cross to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, of the 1st of *Aug-*
ust 1612 (*x*), observes, that it was then absolutely
 uncertain, who should be promoted to the office of
 Secretary; but that Sir *Henry Neville* stood the fair-
 est for it; and some said also, Sir *Ralph Worsley*.
 “ Of *Treasure*, says he, *point encore, parce qu’il n’y*
 “ *a point de tresor*. The King is in progress, and
 “ we are too far from the Court now to hear certain-
 “ ties; but it was told me yesterday, that my Lord
 “ of *Pembroke* and my Lord of *Rochester* are so far
 “ out, as it is almost come to a quarrel. I know
 “ not how true this is; but Sir *Thomas Overbury*
 “ and my Lord of *Pembroke* have been long jangling;
 “ and therefore the other is likely.”

About this time one Mr. *Turville* went over, with
 a letter of recommendation from Archbishop *Abbot*
 to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, dated from *Croyden* 31st of
July 1612 (*y*), and by order of the King, to print in

(w) Ibid. p. 133.

(x) Ibid. p. 145.

(y) Ibid. p. 147.

France some of the books written by his Majesty, which had been translated into *French* by that Gentleman.

The Duke of *Bouillon* being returned into *France* on the 3d of *June* 1612 (z), Sir *Thomas Edmondes* had soon after a conference with him at *Fontainebleau*, of which he wrote the King the following account from *Paris* on the 20th of that month (a). They discoursed concerning "the unhappy division, which was fallen out between those of the *Religion*; upon which the Duke protesteth, that he desireth nothing more for the common good of that cause, than the accommodating of these differences; and to that end, that he will employ his best endeavours, forgetting any thing, that may concern his private interest; in which desire and labour, he saith, that Monsr. *d'Esdiquieres* doth also strongly concur with him. But they both do complain very much of the violent carriage of Monsr. *de Roban*, and his dependents, which doth not only hinder the union of their body, but doth also put him into very ill predicament with the State, whereby he is likely to run a great hazard, if he do continue in those courses.

"The Duke saith, that there can be no good resolutions taken, for the working of a reconciliation, till it shall be seen, what effects the Synod of *Privas* will bring forth. But he told me, that, in the mean time, Monsr. *du Plessis* is negotiating under-hand with the Ministers of State, for the working of his peace, by accusing, on the one side, Monsr. *de Roban* to be too violent; and taxing, on the other side, the Duke of *Bouillon* to have done much harm, by seeking to have the

(k) *Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis*, Vol. I. p. 88. (a) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. VIII. p. 49.

“ principal power of swaying those matters. And
 “ that he hath further made offer to open the means
 “ for the redress of those inconveniences, if he may
 “ be with honour called hither. But the Duke conceiveth, that there will be little use made of his
 “ offers; for that they do here neither love him, nor
 “ trust him.

“ Secondly, I did let him understand the two impediments alleged by your Majesty against the
 “ proposed match between the Prince his Highness
 “ and the second Daughter of *France*; namely, the
 “ inequality of their years, and the want of power
 “ in the Queen to give assurance for that, which
 “ should be concluded therein during the King's
 “ minority. — He said, that the great *Papalins* here would much apprehend, lest the sending
 “ of her so young into *England* might be an occasion to make her the more easily wrought upon
 “ for the change of her Religion. And he did freely let me know, that he thought *Monfr. de Villeroi* would be no friend to the concluding of this
 “ match. But, as I said before, he did assure me,
 “ that the Queen did very much affect the same;
 “ and he presumeth, that he shall be able, by the
 “ authority of the Princes of the Blood, who have
 “ associated themselves with the Officers of the
 “ Crown, so to check *Monfr. de Villeroi's* credit,
 “ as he should be no impediment thereunto. For
 “ the Princes of the Blood declare now, to be resolved to lay aside the demands, which they had
 “ made for their private interests; and to bend
 “ themselves wholly to have a hand in the managing
 “ of the affairs, which is granted unto them; and
 “ that nothing shall be done without their privacy
 “ and advice.”

Prince *Henry*, being acquainted with this negotiation for a marriage between him and *Christine*, the
 second

second daughter of *France*, wrote on the 31st of *July* 1612 from *Richmond* to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* (b), that if it should be concluded upon worse conditions, than the King of *Spain* had obtained with the eldest daughter, it would be dishonourable. And when the Queen Regent shewed such zeal for that marriage, that Sir *Thomas* imagined, from the manner, in which Secretary *Villeroy* spoke to him, that it would depend only upon King *James* to conclude it, and that the Queen would readily grant what conditions should be asked of her; the King, upon the receipt of Sir *Thomas*'s letters, ordered the Lord Viscount *Rochester* to write to the Prince, to desire him to speak his mind freely, whether he liked the match. The Prince was informed, that *Christine* was but nine years of age; and that the portion of her eldest sister was only five hundred thousand gold Crowns. But Lord *Rochester* observed, that the *French* Court shewed such inclination for the marriage, that it was not doubted, but they would give more to the younger, in case an augmentation of the portion should be insisted on*.

The Prince's answer to the King was dated at *Richmond* 14th *October* 1612 †; and in it he gives his opinion of every article contained in Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s letter, which had been sent to him. "As
 * for the time, says his Royal Highness, they will
 * bring the Princess of *France* into *England*; I be-
 * lieve the sooner it is, the better, and that your
 * Majesty ought not to demur thereupon. As long
 * as the Princess is in *France*, the Queen her mo-
 * ther will be pressing either to forward the mar-

(b) Ibid. p. 129. * Le Vassor, Histoire de Louis XIII. Tom. I. L. iii. p. 371. edit. Amsterd. 1700. † Ibid. p. 371, 172, 373. and Dr. *Walton*'s Notes upon *Arthur Wilson*'s Life of King *James*. I. in the *Complete History of England*, Vol. II. p. 689 edit. 1766.

354 *View of the Negotiations between*

“riage, or to stave it off, and to oblige her daughter to give her consent, or hinder her from it. The younger she is, the more time we shall have, and easiness to instruct her in our Religion, and convert her. Since they ask of your Majesty to explain yourself, as to the liberty the Princess shall have in the exercise of her Religion; I desire you, Sir, to answer your Ambassador positively, that you will not agree to any other conditions with *France*, than what the Duke of *Savoy* had demanded, when he offered you his daughter; that is to say, that the Princess shall have the liberty to follow her Religion in private, and in the most retired chamber of her apartment. I confess, these are too narrow and straight conditions: But, if *France* speak sincerely, I do not question but she will be contented with them. If your Majesty, *continues he*, regards the greatness of a dowry, I think you will prefer the Princess of *Savoy*. She brings with her two hundred thousand Crowns more than the Lady of *France*; for at least I can scarce persuade myself, that the Regent will give more to the second daughter than to the eldest. But if your Majesty lays aside interest, to do what shall be more to the mind of the general body of Protestants abroad, it seems to me you will rather incline to *France* than *Savoy*. Lastly, *concluded the Prince*, I fear, lest your Majesty should not be contented with the indifference I shew for all the propositions of marriage, which are made me. I most humbly beg pardon for it. It is you, Sir, who is to take the most advantageous resolution, that may be for the good of the State. I have but little experience in political affairs, and cannot speak like a man smitten with love upon this occasion.”

Sir

Thomas Edmondes wrote from *Paris*, the 18th *August* (c), an answer to Prince *Henry's* letter to him; and observed, that he had understood, that he intended, at his return from his progress, to visit those places, which were still vacant by the death of the Earl of *Salisbury*: *And it pleased his Majesty*, says he, *graciously to promise, that, in that relation, he would remember me for some good purpose, as his Majesty's own words did import. But I doubt, that, by reason of my absence, I may be prevented by others importunity, I most humbly beseech your Highness to interpose your effectual memory towards his Majesty on my behalf, that, whilst I am travelling in the vineyard, I may not be deprived the fruits of my labour.* At the same time he sent the Prince the copy of a very important letter, which he had written that day to the King, upon the occasion of the signing of the *Contract* of the marriage between Madame and the Prince of *Spain* at *St. Louis's* day: "When I understood, says (d), that the Princes of the Blood had signed the *Contract*, I was much troubled, considering that lately the Duke of *Bouillon* had told me, that he did not expect to be pressed thereunto, having also used the like speeches to the States *Embrassador*. And therefore I was desirous, the next morning, to have spoken with the Duke, to be satisfied touching the reason thereof; but I understood, that the Prince of *Candé*, the Count of *Artois*, and Monfr. *d'Esdignieres*, were at the same time in conference with him, he being indisposed of the gout; and, before I could get again unto him, he sent to pray me, that I would take the pains to come and speak with

Sir Tho. Edmondes's MS State-Papers, Vol. VIII. p. 203. id. p. 207.

356 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ him ; and then made known unto me the confe-
 “ rence, which the foresaid Princes, Monfr. *d’Ef-*
 “ *diguieres*, and himself, had had together, touching
 “ the present state of their affairs here ; which was,
 “ that they did plainly discover, that the drift of
 “ the Ministers was to make strict combinations with
 “ *Rome* and *Spain*, to the depressing of the authority
 “ of the Princes of the Blood, and the state of those
 “ of the Religion : And therefore that they had
 “ now taken a firm resolution to join together for
 “ the opposing of those practices, and to stand for
 “ the maintaining of the amity of the other more
 “ assured allies of the State ; whereof he gave me
 “ assurance that I should shortly see some good ef-
 “ fects.” That, with regard to signing the Con-
 tract, the refusal would have been inconvenient, by
 giving the Queen discontentment and jealousy, and,
 by that means, crossed their other purposes. “ But
 “ he prayed me now to be assured, that, at their last
 “ meeting, they had taken such settled resolutions,
 “ both by a fast and intrinsical union amongst them-
 “ selves, and by deliberating the means for the ex-
 “ ecution of their designs, to far more effectual pur-
 “ pose than ever before they had done, as I might
 “ assure myself there would grow some good effects
 “ thereof, and that ere it were long ; for that the
 “ Princes did now clearly see into the practices of
 “ the Ministers, Monfr. *de Villeroy* having of late
 “ made offer to one of them, to procure him to be
 “ Chief of their party of the Catholics ; and to give
 “ him intire knowledge of all the affairs, if he would
 “ adhere unto them ; which, he said, bewrayed not
 “ only a combination among them, but also that
 “ their purpose was to weaken the said Princes,
 “ the one by the other : wherein the Princes were
 “ resolved to meet with their practices. And here
 “ upon he said, that he never conceived so confident
 “ hope,

as now he did, of the breaking of the marriages.

I find, that their design is both to seek to possess themselves of the principal authority at Court, wherein they are strongly assisted by the Marquis *Incze*, who is become a great enemy to Monsr. *Villeroy*; and also to make their party strong in the Provinces; and to that end, Monsr. *d'Esperieres* doth now withdraw himself from hence, so doth likewise find, for his particular, that the Queen herself hath dealt sincerely with him, to have procured the verifying of his Letters Patents by the Parliament for his Dukedom, but that the Ministers have been the means of crossing the same undertaking. Their chiefest end is to disgrace, and remove Monsr. *de Villeroy* from the managing the affairs, without otherwise interrupting the public quietness, or infringing the Queen's authority; which would be the more quietly done, if the House of *Guise*, and Monsr. *d'Esperieres*, would not make themselves parties on the contrary side. And, if that work might be effected, it would breed much happiness to the common cause of Religion; for that there is not a more pernicious enemy to the same than he: and our Majesty might have in this State, what interest you could expect.

Count *Soissons* intendeth to repair to-morrow into *Normandy*, to hold the Estates of that country; and the Duke of *Bouillon* also will shortly afterwards make a journey to *Sedan*."

Sir *Thomas* then remarks, that the Duke of *Bouillon* communicated the affair to him under the name of secrecy; and desired the King to keep it so; and Sir *Thomas* procured a letter from the King to his Majesty upon that subject, to the end that his Majesty might know, that these things were lawfully meant.

Secretary *Villeroy* was, it appears by this letter, considered as an irreconcilable enemy to the Protestant party; which prejudice against him was of long standing; for Sir *Henry Nevile*, as early as the year 1599, represented him as the great *favourer of the restitution of the Jesuits**, and no friend to the *English* nation, but inclined to the *Spaniards*†: And Mr. *Winwood* in 1601 observed‡, that he *had ever been accounted superstitiously devoted to the See of Rome, even in matters of State*.

Upon the receipt of Sir *Thomas Edmondes's* letter, the King returned the following answer, all in the hand-writing of the Lord Viscount *Rochester* (e).

JAMES R.

“ Trustie and wel-beloved, Wee have receaved
 “ your letter of the 18th of *August*, which cam heer
 “ with very great celeritie; for we had it heere at
 “ *Graftone* upon the 24th of this moneth, and be-
 “ foir six in the morning. One thing wee observ-
 “ ed, that wee ressavd your letter upon a *St. Bar-*
 “ *tholome* day in the morninge, which made men-
 “ tione of a *St. Bartholmey* businesse; and surely wee
 “ have too great cause to feare, that that bloodie
 “ Sainct will once againe besturre himself in *France*,
 “ if it be not tymously prevented. Thairfore it is
 “ nou high tyme, that nothing be omitted by us,
 “ which both our conscience, and the securetye of our
 “ oun State, requyres at our hands. And we as-
 “ sure ourselves, that you will omit no paynes nor
 “ industry to be a happy labourer for us in that place,
 “ whair nou yow resyde. For althogh I ever su-

* Letter to Secretary *Cecil* from *Paris*, 7th Aug. 1599, O. S. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. I. p. 86.

† Letter of the 20th of *August*. Ibid. p. 94. ‡ Letter to Secretary *Cecil*, of the 17th of *May* 1601, O. S. Ibid. p. 327. (e) Sir *Thomas Ed-*

mondes's MS. State-Papers, Vol. VIII. p. 233.

“ spect

“ spect the inconstancie of the Princes of the Blood,
 “ and holdes thair signing of the contract at this tyme
 “ a very great signe of thair weaknesse ; yet you shall
 “ do well to worke by all the means you can,
 “ to holde them fordwart in this good resolutione.
 “ They cannot but see themselves maid fooles and
 “ shaddowes of by the Ministers of that State, espe-
 “ cielly in thair allyance with *Spayne*, whairin no
 “ lesse is intendit, then that the King of *Spayne* will
 “ be absolute Governor of *France* during the
 “ King’s minoretie, and so shall the wolfe have the
 “ weather to keepe. And it is the proper office of
 “ the Princes of the Bloode in thair King’s minoretie
 “ to tak care, *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat*.

“ As for the Duck of *Buillon*, ye have done ve-
 “ rie weall, that have maid him engage himself in
 “ this businesse by his letter unto us ; and you may sho
 “ him into our name, that no man hath so much in-
 “ trest as he to be active in this arrand ; for he it
 “ was, that was employed to us thairby to lay us on
 “ sleep, yea even to enpaunde his particular credit
 “ with us, that no *Spanishe* nor *Popish* plott did lurk
 “ under this allyance. And you may putt him in
 “ mynd, that, at his first pryvat audience, even in
 “ his Fellow-Ambassdoris hearing, we tould him
 “ merelie, that it was the fashione of Princes, when
 “ they deceave thair nighbores, first to deceave thair
 “ ounge Ambassadors. You shall also sho him, hou
 “ happy a thing it is, that the Body of the Religione
 “ thair is reunited befor the falling out of this busi-
 “ nesse ; and thairfoir you shall labor with all ear-
 “ nestnesse to hasten also, as soone as can be, a sound
 “ and perfyт reconciliatione betwixt the personnes of
 “ *Buillon* and *Roban*.

“ You shall also use all the indirecт meanes you
 “ can to winne Monsieur *de Guise* to be of this par-
 “ tie ; and you may let it cum to his eares, that

360 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ you heir, that we wonder much, that notwithstanding of the message we sent him, at Monsr. de Buillione’s departure, by the Viconte de Sardinie, wee have never yet heard from him since.

“ To conclude then this purpose, wee think our self happy, that have so faythfull and well-appointed a Minister thair at this tyme, when such a busines is lyk to break out; and wee expect from you all active and discreet diligence in furthering this intendit purpois, but with that cautious warinesse, that you engage not, or discover eyther us or yourself to any, but to such, as you may securely trust. The successe, that wee expect, is, that, by the means of the Princes of the Blood, with the assistance of *Buillon, Desdiguieres*, and all the Body of the Religione, if neid be, together with the House of *Guise*, if they can be wonne, that pernicious Statesman may be first removed, and then this allyance, and *Papish caball* betwixt *France* and *Spaine*, to be quyte broken of; a work, which will be acceptable to God, will procure the preservatione of his Church, and the treue peace, securetie, and quyetnes of that Kingdom. Thus praying God to bleffe it in your hands, wee bid you fareweall. From our Court at *Wodstoke* this 27th of *August* 1612.”

The Lord Viscount *Rochester* wrote at the same time to Sir *Thomas Edmandes* the following letter (a).

“ S I R,

“ Besydes thos dyrections contayned in the dispatch, whairin my hand is used, as bearing in it mater of pryvacie and trust, thair is one lykways

(a) Ibid. p. 229.

“ by

England, France, and Brussels. 361

“ by Sir *Thomas Lake*, &c. I have not seen the King
“ so bent, nor so violently sett upon the successe of
“ any act as of this; which, as I do assure myself,
“ nothing can be addit to your indevoyres for ef-
“ fecting it, so dare I promise you, no service can
“ be donne him, that will have a better acceptance,
“ nor give a better value and recommendatione of
“ yourself, and open the way more readely to your
“ other fortunes; to which, eyther upon this occa-
“ sione, or without it, I will not cease to assist as
“ a helper and friend. So, wishing you good
“ event in this work, and to yourself happinesse, I
“ rest

“ *Your very loving Frind,*

From *Woodstock* this 27th
of *August*.”

Ro. Rochester.

Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, in his letter to the King from *Paris*, of the 5th of *September* 1612 (*b*), takes notice, that the Duke of *Bouillon* had, of late, had a very sharp fit of the gout; and adds, “ I am still
“ put in strong hope by the Duke, that there shall be
“ something done for the public good to the pur-
“ pose, whereof I lately advertised your Majesty.
“ And as I do not fail to solicit him carefully there-
“ in; so he is by nothing more animated to these
“ good endeavours, than by the comfortable assu-
“ rance, which he doth receive from your Majesty.”

Prince *Henry*’s answer to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*’s letter, of the 18th of *August*, was dated from *Richmond* on the 10th of *September* 1612 (*c*); and in it he excuses himself from interposing in Sir *Thomas*’s favour, with regard to asking preferment for him; because, as matters go now here, says he, I will deal

(*b*) Ibid. p. 271.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 301.

362 *View of the Negotiations between*

in no businesses of importance for some respects. He urged him, at the same time, to prosecute the scheme of uniting the Princes of the Blood, and the heads of the *Protestant* party in *France*, against the Ministers of that Court. “ If the Princes of the Blood, says his Highness, and those of the *Religion*, do stick the one with the other firmly, and if there fall out no factions amongst them ; they may have a very great stroke in the greatest and most important business of State. As touching their intentions of removing from about the Queen some private persons, my opinion is, that, unless they be well prepared for it, and go on further in preserving of their own state and fortunes against whatsoever may fall out, after that they have set afoot that action, they will do themselves wrong. For if the State have a suspicion of their stirring humours, that action will fully assure them of it ; which will make them clip their wings all they can, striving to disable them from being able to do any thing hereafter. Wherefore if you would cherish them in that humour, I think it would not be very hurtful for this State. For if there should fall a great difference amongst them, as it hath been heretofore, while those two dogs were fighting together, a third dog might fall in to them ; and, having the one of them on his side, or at least neutral, might have a great share amongst them. This, though you may not do as an Ambassador, yet you may do as a private man, that wisheth their welfare, and the good of his own State.”

On the 14th of *September* Sir Thomas Edmondes wrote a letter to the Lord Viscount Rochester (*d*), informing him, that the sickness of the Duke of Bouillon, the absence of Count de Soissons, and the sick-

of Monsr. *de Villeroy* himself, had *suspended the resolution of all great matters*. And the same day he sent the King an answer to his Majesty's letter of the 27th of *August* (e), acquainting his Majesty, that he had represented to the Duke of *Bouillon*, how much his Majesty "doth affect the effecting of the present business." That, by that Duke's advice, he had strengthened Count *de Soissons* in his resolution; and had discoursed with the Duke of *Guise*, who had, that his House "was now entered into a better intelligence with the Princes of the Blood; and that they were resolved not to be made any longer instruments for the serving of the Ministers private ends;" and desired, that the King would communicate every thing of importance to him by Sir *Thomas Edmondes*.

That Monsr. *de Villeroy* had been sick ever since his last letter to his Majesty, which suspended the resolution of all great matters.

That the Count *de Soissons* was expected to return within five or six days; "and then the Duke of *Bouillon* intendeth to urge the prosecution of the other main design, which promiseth the better success, for that the discontentment continueth still very great between the Marquis *d'Ancre* and the Ministers: But, on the other side, I fear, that the deferring of the Duke of *Guise's* journey may delay the execution of that business."

The Lord Viscount *Rochester*, on the 24th of that month, wrote the following letter to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* (f):

"SIR,

"I am to put you in mynde, by his Majesty's commandement, to use all your cair and

(e) Ibid. p. 321. (f) Ibid. p. 333.

"dili-

364 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ diligence towards the advancement of that gre:
 “ disservice, which Monfr. *Builone* promises to cor
 “ fidently shortly to be undertaken for reformation
 “ of the Court, and consequently of the State.

“ But, by reason of the miscarriages of his pro
 “ mises befor, his Majestye willes you to have th
 “ much prejudice, as ever to suspend your beliefe
 “ till the Duke’s wordes be confirmed with effects
 “ least if he should fynd you to receave all from
 “ him with ane implicate fayth, he be lesse cairful
 “ to give satisfactione by the succeffe, then when h
 “ is watched, and his escapes a litle upon occasio
 “ poynted to, and seek to meritt, at home at least
 “ by gayninge tyme on you till things cum to try
 “ all. For you can not but confidder, but thog
 “ the King our Master’s courtesie toward him, an
 “ his Religione, inclyne him towards us; yet th
 “ love to his countrey, and the cair to advance hi
 “ own fortune, which is a strong affectione in him
 “ will prevaylle with him to sacrifice the lesser to
 “ the greater, and to take more cair to make use o
 “ his credite heir, then to mayntayne it. This,
 “ know, is warninge inuse for a wyse man: Thair
 “ foir I will adde no more, but that I am

“ *Your very loving Frind,*

Ro. Rochester

“ You will receave notice, by Sir *Tbo. Lake*, o
 “ the King’s conference with the Ambassado
 “ heer, concerning the Nunnery and the stipen
 “ darie Preeftes.

“ *Hampton-Court*, the 24th
 “ of *Sept.* [1612].”

Th

The day following, *September* the 25th, Sir *Thomas Edmondes* wrote to the King (g): "According
" as I advertised your Majesty by my former let-
" ters, the sickness of Monfr. *de Villeroy*, and ab-
" sence of the Count of *Soissons*, hath been cause of
" suspending the resolution of all great matters."

That the Duke of *Bouillon* had obtained leave of the Queen to make a journey to *Sedan* for about twenty days.

That Monfr. *de Villeroy* had visited him the day after the Duke of *Bouillon*'s departure, to discourse about the marriage between Prince *Henry* and *Madame Christine*; and concluded his discourse with his own most vehement protestations, "how much
" he desired the effecting of this business, whereof,
" he said, that he would particularly wed the care,
" and make it appear thereby, that he was neither
" *Romanist* nor *Spaniard*, as he had been traduced;
" professing also, that he should esteem himself most
" happy to be the instrument for the concluding of
" so good a work before he died."

The King, who grew uneasy upon the delay of the execution of the Duke of *Bouillon*'s scheme, wrote again to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* from *Royston*, on the 4th of *October* (b): "Now, as for that other
" great purpois, of which Monfr. *de Buillione* gives
" so great hope, wee see so many excuses upon de-
" lays, as upon the Count *Soyffone*'s not returninge,
" and the Duke of *Guyse* his not depairting, in re-
" guirde of this accident, that concernes Monfr. *le*
" *Grand*, and the Duk of *Buillon*'s going unto *Se-*
" *danne*, as we confesse, thogh somewhat might be
" hoped in *Germane* flegmatick humoris after sum
" delays; yet *Frenchmen* have never been known
" to tak fyre but upon the first fury. So as wee

(g) Ibid. p. 339.

(b) Ibid. p. 369.

366 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ see small hope of successe lykly to follow upon
 “ their intendit plott; so that we can do no more,
 “ but leave that businesse to such successe, as pleases
 “ God to give it.”

On the 7th of *October* Sir *Thomas Edmondes* wrote an answer to the Lord Viscount *Rochester's* letter of the 24th of *September* (i). “ The Duke of *Bouillon*,
 “ for proof, *says he*, that he hath had the business in
 “ careful remembrance, hath acquainted me upon
 “ what terms it was agreed between him and the
 “ other great men, to reduce their intended reformation. And though he oft complained, that he
 “ found it to be a great task unto him, to manage
 “ the spirits of those personages to such purpose as
 “ was requisite; yet he still gave me hope, that the
 “ time cannot now be long before we shall see a
 “ trial thereof; for that things are now come to a
 “ crisis, by reason that the late proceedings of the
 “ Ministers have more and more exasperated men's
 “ spirits against them; and the Count of *Soissons*,
 “ since his return out of *Normandy*, hath very much
 “ inveigh against them; and the Marquis *d'Ancre*
 “ doth continue to do the like.”

Sir *Thomas* wrote again to the King, on the 15th of *October* (k): “ The world doth now take notice
 “ of the Queen's public disfavours of the Ministers; for that she hath not of late consulted in
 “ private with them, as she was wont to do; but
 “ causeth all matters, for the most part, to be treated in open Council; saying, that she now findeth,
 “ how much she hath been abused by their private passions. And the Marquis *d'Ancre* doth
 “ very much complain against the Princes of the
 “ Blood, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, that having, at
 “ their solicitation, so far engaged himself against the

(i) Ibid. p. 383.

(k) Ibid. p. 404.

“ Mini-

inisters, by their absence he is left alone to bear the burden of their counter-practices, and the opportunity in danger to be lost, which is offered to the ruining of them ; as indeed men think it had been a thing most easy to be done, if the present occasion had been well followed. But the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, are expected here by the end of the next week ; and the Count of *Soissons* doth stay at his house at *Blanc*, under pretence of being indisposed, till he shall understand of their return. In the mean time the Chancellor, and Monsr. *de Villeroy*, leave no means attempted to work their reconciliation with the Queen, and the Marquis *d'Ancre* ; and it is doubted, that, if she be not the more speedily fortified with some other counsels, that she may be brought to hearken thereunto ; for that, though she be injured enough to disgrace the Chancellor, in respect of the many informations, which have been given her of his corruption in his charge ; yet notwithstanding it is thought, that she will be the more contained therein, because Monsr. *de Villeroy* hath professed, that, if the Chancellor shall be disgraced, he will also withdraw himself ; who, though she stand not at this time in the best terms with her, yet she is loth to deprive herself of his service, whom she holdeth to be so great an oracle. From these variable discourses we shall be able to make a more certain judgment upon the return of the Princes, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, here.

Thomas's letter to the King, dated October (1), mentions the Prince of *Condé's* arrival at two days before ; and that, upon the news, that he received of the Count *de Soissons's* sickness,

(1) Ibid. p. 416.

368 *View of the Negotiations between*
whose disappointment about Quillebœuf had put
into a continual fever, the Prince went presently
 visit him : And that the Duke of *Bouillon* was
 peeted at *Paris* without fail upon the *Saturday*
 lowing.

Two days after, *October 22d*, Sir *Thomas* wr
 again to the King in the following terms (m) :

“ SACRED MAJESTY,

“ I am sorry, that I have occasion so soon ag
 “ to trouble your Majesty, after my last let
 “ written but two days since, to advertise your M
 “ jesty of the most unhappy accident, which is h
 “ fallen out by the death of the Count of *Soiffé*
 “ who, as it is presently certified hither, died this
 “ night at his house at *Blandy*, of a malignant c
 “ tinual fever, which lastly was accompanied wit
 “ flux. The loss, which the State hath receiv
 “ thereby, is great ; for that, though he was mi
 “ affected to his particular ends, yet notwithstan
 “ ing he was known to be a very good patriot, a
 “ one that desired, that things should be carried
 “ in an honourable course, both for the mainte
 “ ing of the quietness of the State, and for giv
 “ satisfaction to the antient allies of the same. A
 “ he was so much exasperated against the proce
 “ ings of the Ministers, as certainly he did but
 “ tend the first opportunity to have wrought a
 “ formation of matters here, whereof there is n
 “ but little hope to be conceived, in respect of
 “ lightness of the Prince of *Condé*’s humour,
 “ the little credit he hath in the State. Only
 “ Ministers have hereby *cause gagnée* ; for
 “ there will be now none, that will be able to
 “ pose them in their courses. And as the Duk

(m) Ibid p. 427.

“ Bo

Bouillon will be much troubled with this accident, that he will be now exposed to all their practices, in respect of that they accuse him to have in the *primus motus* of the combinations against him; so it falleth out, in an ill conjuncture for affairs of those of the Religion, which are depending; for that, in all appearance, matters are like to be carried hereafter with more severity against them. Within two or three days the Duke of *Bouillon* is expected here; after whose arrival it will be seen, what alterations this accident will produce."

Thomas Edmondes, on the 7th of *November*, gave to his Majesty a further account of the state affairs in *France* (n): "Since the death of the Count *Soissons*, the Queen hath commanded the Marquis *d'Ancre* to reconcile himself with the Chancellor, and Monfr. *de Villeroy*, wherein he refused to obey the Queen; but he professeth, that he will make no friendship with the Comte de *Sillery*, the Chancellor's brother, who, by reason of his near attendance about the Queen, as Master of her Horse, is commonly used in the private negotiations between her and the Ministers: and therefore the not comprising of him in the reconciliation is but to leave matters in the same terms between the Marquis and the Ministers. And the Duke of *Bouillon*, since his arrival, hath renewed the former association, which was between him, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Marquis *d'Ancre*; whereby they do still hope to be able to hold the Ministers in check, though not with such effectual purpose, as they might have done, if the Count *Soissons* had lived.

(n) Ibid. p. 472.

370 *View of the Negotiations 'between*

“ After having closed up my other letters, the
 “ Duke of *Bouillon*, being newly returned from the
 “ *Louvre*, prayed me to take the pains to come
 “ and speak with him (our lodgings being not far
 “ distant the one from the other); and, at my com-
 “ ing to him, he acquainted me, that he had been
 “ informed by the Prince of *Condé*, that the Nun-
 “ cio had been with him; and had dealt with him,
 “ to join with the Ministers in the course, which
 “ they run, for the managing of the affairs of the
 “ State; and also to let him know, that he was in-
 “ formed of the treaty, which was in hand here for
 “ the making of a match between the Prince his
 “ Highness and Madame *Christine*; against the
 “ which, he said, that both he, and the *Spanish* Em-
 “ bassadors, were resolved to oppose themselves, as
 “ a thing, that would be greatly prejudicial to the
 “ Catholic Religion; praying him also to do some
 “ effectual office therein. Whereunto the Prince
 “ made him answer, that he was friend to the Mi-
 “ nisters, so long as they should carry themselves
 “ within the limits, which was fit for them to do.
 “ And, for the other point, he told them plainly,
 “ that he was resolved to further the said alliance to
 “ the best of his power; and that he thought there
 “ was no man, that loved the good of *France*, but
 “ would earnestly desire the same. The Duke told
 “ me, moreover, and prayed me to give your Ma-
 “ jesty information thereof, that they are now in
 “ hand to take order, that the Ministers should be
 “ bound to give the Prince of *Condé* particular
 “ knowledge of all matters, that passed; and that
 “ nothing be done without his privy and consent;
 “ whereby they will be able to see clearly into the
 “ intents and proceedings of the Ministers; or other-
 “ wise, if they should refuse to subject themselves to
 “ that course, that they will force them to quit their
 “ charges.

arges. And he said, that, in this resolution, we are joined with him, and the Prince of Condé, the Marquis d'Ancre, the Dukes of Nevers and Mayenne, and others; and that the Ministers, on the other side, are reduced to rely only upon the Duke of Épernon. I most humbly beseech your Majesty, to be pleased to give the Duke of Nevers some encouragement, as your Majesty will have occasion to write unto him; for that, before your Majesty, he doth bear a great burden, with of pains and hazard, to steer things here in right course."

The day before the date of this letter, viz. November the 6th 1612, proved fatal to Prince Henry, who died, at the age of eighteen, at St. James's, of a fever, with which he had been seized in the preceding month: but the prevailing opinion of that time, and since adopted by some of our Historians, though contradicted by the unanimous report of his physicians, was, that his end was hastened by poison.

And this notion received some countenance, from the little concern, which was shewn at his death by the Court, though the Nation considered it as irreparable loss. To tell you, says the Earl of Dorset to Sir Thomas Edmondes, in a letter of the 10th of that month (o), that our rising sun is set ere it be had shone, and that with him all our glory is buried; you know, and do lament, as well as we, better than some do, and more truly, or else you are not a man, and sensible of this Kingdom's loss. In the same letter he observed, that the great Officers were still at a stand; but that P. [Pembroke] and Rochester were reconciled a day or two before King's last journey to Royston.

(o) Ibid. p. 547.

372 *View of the Negotiations between*

The death of Prince *Henry* made so little impression upon the King, and his favourite, that the Lord Viscount *Rocheſter*, on the 9th of *November*, three days after that melancholy event, wrote from *Whitball* to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, to begin a negotiation for a marriage between Prince *Charles* and the second daughter of *France*. “ You have heard, *ſays his Lordſhip* (p), of the late fatal accident befalling us by the ordinary way. The buſineſſe of this is to will you to beginne the ſame motions for a match for Madam *Chriſtine* with the now Prince *Charles*, betwixt whom there is a fitneſſe of age; which diſproportion betwixt the late Prince and her was the only cauſe, that maid his Maſteſty the more negligent in proceeding with the other. His Maſteſty’s pleaſure is, that you ſet this afoot preſently, as of yourſelf, and deal with the ſame perſonnes you dealt with beſoir.”

The Count *de Soiffons*’s unexpected death having obſtructed the deſign of the Princes of the Blood, and others, of changing the Miniſtry in *France*, Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, on the 18th of *November* 1612, gave notice of it to the Lord Viſcount *Rocheſter*, in a letter from *Paris* (q): “ Whereas his Maſteſty requireth to be further certified, what likelihood there may be of *the great affair*; it is not now to be expected, by reaſon of the Count of *Soiffons*’s death (who was to give the chief life to that action), that any thing can be done to ſuch effectual purpoſe, as was heretofore promiſed. But, notwithſtanding, the Duke of *Bouillon* hath ſtill care (as I advertiſed by my former letters) to procure, at the leaſt, the eſta bliſhing of ſuch a *reglement*, in the managing of the affairs, as ſhall be able to meet with all adverſe practices.”

(p) Ibid. p. 497.

(q) Ibid. p. 540.

But though the Lord Viscount *Rochester* had given him orders, in his letter of the 9th of *November* above cited, to propose a marriage between Prince *Charles* and Madame *Christine*; yet Sir *Thomas* thought it improper to enter upon such an affair so soon after Prince *Henry*'s death. The King, approving of his conduct in this point, wrote to him from *Royston*, on the 11th of *December*, a letter, in the hand-writing of the Lord Viscount *Rochester* (r): "Whereas you
"excuse yourself of not fulfilling the directione of
"our last dispatch, in renewing againe the motione
"of the match betwixt our dearest sonne *Charles*
"and Madam *Christine*, wee do very weall allow
"of your cariage thairin, as fully agreeing with our
"meaning in our former direction, thogh perad-
"venture sum words tharin might cause it to be mis-
"taken. For it had been a very blunt thing in us,
"that you, our Minister, should, so soone after such
"a irreparable losse receaved by us, have begunne
"to talk of mariage, the most contrary thing, that
"could be, to death and funeralls. But because wee
"doubted not, that that motione would be renewed
"againe unto you, if not by *Villeroy*, at least by the
"Duke of *Buillon*, our meaning was thairfor, that
"you should intertayn the motione."

The Duke of *Bouillon*, with whom Sir *Thomas Edmondes* had a long and intimate friendship, had so high an esteem of him, that when he was in his Embassy in *England* in *May* this year, he strongly recommended Sir *Thomas* to the King, to whom he wrote, on the 24th of *December* (s), reminding his Majesty of the promises, which he had made to him, while he was in *England*, in favour of Sir *Thomas*, during the Earl of *Salisbury*'s last illness, when there was likely to be a vacancy of places, which pro-

(r) Ibid. p. 619.

(s) Ibid p. 641.

374 *View of the Negotiations between*

mises his Majesty had repeated till by letters. But they proved ineffectual; and tho both the places of Secretary of State were then vacant, the Lord Viscount *Rochester* performing the duties of them; yet Sir *Thomas*, who merited that promotion by his long services, failed in his application; which drew from him some complaints, in a letter to a Nobleman, whose name doth not appear, dated 24th of *April* 1613 (t): "I have, to my great grief, understood from Mr. *Devyke*, that your Lordship hath discovered, there is no purpose to allow me any part in the Secretaries place; for that my Lord of *Rochester* doth pretend to settle Sir *Henry Neville*, and Sir *Ralph Winwood* in both those places, the which advertisement I could not but find very strange, not only that it should be affected to make such a conjunction, but also that myself should be so unhappy, as to have Sir *Ralph Winwood* preferred before me, who have served almost double the time, that he hath done; and, as I will be bold to say, being, in all respects, as well justified for the discharging of my duty." But Sir *Ralph Winwood* was not promoted to the post of Secretary till the 29th of *March* 1614 (v); and Sir *Henry Neville* met with no promotion till his death; which happened the 13th of *July* 1615 (w), the King being thought not to have any great inclination to him (x).

The factions in the Court of *France*, in the year 1613, were very high between the Princes of the Blood, the Marquis *d'Ancre*, the Nobility, and the old Ministers. Nor were the affairs of *England* in

(t) Ibid. Vol. IX. (v) Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi I. p. 9. (w) Idem ibid. p. 12. (x) Mr. Chamberlain to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, London, 9th January 1612. *Winwood's Memorials*, Vol. III. p. 421.

my tolerable situation under the direction of so ill a man as the Lord Viscount *Rocheſter*, whoſe ſhare in the murder of his friend Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and intrigues with the Counteſs of *Effex*, whom he afterwards procured to be divorced from her huſband, and married to himſelf, rendered him unworthy of the favour and confidence of the King his Maſter, and of the mercy, which was ſhewn him by his Maſty, after his guilt was detected, for reaſons of a very dark and ſuſpicious nature. Sir *Ralph Winwood*, who went over to *England* from *Holland*, about September 1613, wrote ſoon after to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* a very gloomy account of the ſtate of *England* at that time; in answer to which Sir *Thomas* obſerved (a), that as it was the general complaint, ſo it was to be the more lamented; for that we muſt expect, ſays he, rather a great declining, than any better amendment, if things run on in the courſe, which they do. But, methinks, the preſſing neceſſities of the State ſhould neceſſarily infer the calling of the Parliament, and the ſettling of other important buſineſs. This ſhews, that he was at once ſenſible of the grievances, which the Nation then laboured under, and the beſt means for redreſſing them, by Parliament.

Sir *Thomas*, in the end of this year 1613, deſired leave to return to *England*; but it was reſuſed him, till he ſhould receive the final reſolution of the Court of *France*, about the treaty of marriage between Prince *Charles* and Madame *Cabriſtine* (b); which having at laſt obtained, he left *Paris*, and arrived in *England* about the end of January 1613-14 (c).

(a) Letter to Sir *Ralph Winwood* from *Paris*, 5th October 1613. Ibid. p. 483. (b) Mr. *Beaulieu* to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, *Paris*, December 1613. Ibid. p. 488. (c) Ibid. p. 492.

The proposition of the marriage, and especially some points of it, met with great opposition then from the Privy-council, who were extremely displeased, that so important an affair should not have been communicated to them (*d*). But the King was so zealous for that marriage, that he sent Sir *Thomas Edmondes* again to *Paris* with instructions, dated *July 20th 1614*, for concluding it (*e*); while, on the other hand, the Pope used all his efforts to dissuade the Queen Regent of *France* from consenting to an alliance with an Heretic, inconsistent with the honour and interests of the Catholic Religion (*f*). And it is not improbable, that the Court of *France* affected to shew a zeal for it, merely with a view to amuse the Protestants in general, who were alarmed at the double marriage with *Spain*.

While Sir *Thomas Edmondes* was in *England*, he drew up a discourse addressed to the King, intitled, *Considerations touching the discontentments of the Prince of Condé, and the other Princes, and what course his Majesty was to follow thereupon* (*g*). He states the question as a triple consideration, "Whether your Majesty should absolutely abstain from interesting yourself in the cause? Or whether you should directly declare yourself therein? Or, lastly, whether it were not best, that your Majesty should take some middle course, which might, in some sort, give comfort to that party; and yet not discontent the State?" Sir *Thomas* inclines to this last method. He begins with representing the design of the association of the Princes, which was to oppose the *Ministers, who were allege-*

(*d*) Ibid. p. 497.

Papers, Vol. X.

Tom. III. p. 44—51.

Papers, Vol. X.

(*e*) Sir *Tho Edmondes's* MS. State-

(*f*) Vittorio Siri, *Memorie recondite*,

(*g*) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-

ther affected to Rome and Spain : And the Duke of *Bouillon* pretended, that the benefits, which would arise from this, were, 1. " That, in seeking to
 " put off the marriages with *Spain*, there is hope of
 " breaking the same. 2. Nourishing a faction and
 " division among the Catholics ; and procuring
 " the best part of them, in the hatred of *Spain*, to
 " depend upon your Majesty : And, 3. Extinguish-
 " ing, by this means, the factions amongst those of
 " the Religion."

Sir *Thomas*, upon his return to *Paris*, wrote two letters on the 12th of *August* 1614 (*b*) ; one to Sir *Ralph Winwood*, who had been made Secretary of State in the *March* preceding, by the interest of the Lord Viscount *Rochester*, now Earl of *Somerset* (*i*), and Lord Chamberlain (*k*) ; and the other to the King. In the latter he observed, that he had acquainted Secretary *de Villeroy* with his Majesty's resolution of employing Sir *Henry Wotton* into the *Low Countries* " about the affairs of *Fuliers*; and of
 " the expedients, whereof his Majesty had bethought
 " himself for the accommodating of that difference,
 " to prevent the danger of falling into a war. I
 " understand, adds he, that Monfr. *de Villeroy* is
 " the person, that hath now the predominant credit
 " in the Court, the same having been much con-
 " firmed by the good success of the counsel, which
 " he gave the Queen for undertaking this journey ;
 " in that she hath found, that the same hath been a
 " great means for the weakening the credit of the
 " Prince of *Condé* ; and consequently increasing the
 " King's authority, by the general affection, which
 " the people have shewed to him, and the great

(*b*) Ibid. (i) He was advanced to that title Nov. 4.
 1613. Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi I. p. 9. (*k*) July 10.
 1614. Ibid. p. 10.

378 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ confluence of the Nobility, which, from the p
 “ thereabouts, have resorted to him. And, con
 “ riwife, the Chancellor, and the President *Jean*
 “ have been much accused for dissuading the Qu
 “ from the said journey : whereupon it is held, t
 “ the correspondency between the Chancellor s
 “ Monfr. *de Villeroy* is not now so great as forme
 “ it hath been.” The journey of the King a
 Queen Regent, mentioned in this letter, was that
Poitiers, of which the Prince of *Condé* had attempt
 ed to make himself master ; but retired at the
 proach of their Majesties (1).

Sir *Henry Wotton*’s employment in *Holland* was
 cationed by a new dispute arising between the Sta
 General and the Archdukes, with relation to *Julie*
 and he, being arrived at the *Hague*, wrote fr
 thence to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, on the 18th of *A*
gust 1614 (m). “ I was the morning of your
 “ parture at your house in *St. Bartholomew*’s,
 “ have kissed your hands; and, missing you at t
 “ time, I was returning towards you immediat
 “ after dinner to mend my fortune, when a sick
 “ voice of the King of *Denmark*’s arrival (n) c
 “ ried me from your Lordship, with the rest of
 “ torrent, to the Queen’s house, where I was l
 “ all that afternoon among certain wits, that w
 “ glad of new matter to talk on, especially when Ki
 “ fell into their hands. Since my coming hither, wh
 “ was on the 2d of *August* in our style, I have
 “ written so much as one to his Majesty; for I
 “ nothing till this very day, upon which migh
 “ grounded any material dispatch, notwithstanding

(1) *Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis*, Ton
 p. 137—140. & le Vassor, *Hist. de Louis XIII.* Lib. V. p.
 —615. (m) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*’s MS. State Papers, Vol
 (n) He arrived on the 21st of *July* 1614. *Camdeni Ann*
Regis Jacobi I. p. 11.

“ that I had had four public audiences, and three
 “ committees (as I may term them), wherein some
 “ of the States were deputed to treat with me apart,
 “ besides sundry private conferences with his Ex-
 “ cellence, and Monfr. *Barneveldt*, the oracle of the
 “ place. — They have now finally put the whole
 “ matter, touching the sequestration of *Juliers*, into
 “ Monfr. *du Maurier*’s hands and mine, as repre-
 “ sentants of our Masters. — These hasty rag-
 “ ged lines may well shew you how we are streight-
 “ ened for time, fearing to be surpris’d by some
 “ hostile act of the Archdukes, which would tra-
 “ verse our treaty. Your antient creature Mr. *Trum-*
 “ *bull* (a very intelligent instrument, as appeareth
 “ by his letters, and right honest by all reports)
 “ hath done many good offices to mollify the said
 “ Archdukes, who seem, or at least would seem,
 “ very eager to do we know not what. And the
 “ States here laid very civilly to my charge, that I
 “ have kept them from marching towards their fron-
 “ tiers, which they now begin to fortify with a few
 “ removes of certain companies from the more in-
 “ land garisons.”

Lodowick Stuart, Duke of *Lenox*, and afterwards
 of *Richmond*, Lord Steward of the Household, who
 was one of Sir *Thomas Edmondes*’s friends, wrote to
 him from *Whitehall*, on the 3d of *October* (e), that
 as soon as he should be at *Koyßen*, he would take oc-
 casion to remind his Majesty of Sir *Thomas*, that
 his absence, in his Majesty’s service, might not make
 him be forgot; and that he would not fail to re-
 member him still to the Lord Treasurer *Suffolk*, who
 assured the Duke of his love towards Sir *Thomas*. He
 acquaints him likewise, that Sir *Fulk Grevile*, celebra-
 ted for his friendship with Sir *Philip Sidney*, and af-

(e) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*’s MS. State-Papers, Vol. X.

380 *View of the Negotiations between*

terwards Lord *Brook*, was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Under-Treasurer, "by my Lady *Suffolke's* favour and meanes; besydes his other good frinds. But his greatest assurance was by hir. Thei say also, that Mr. D * * thought himself certaine to have the same places, having my Lord *Somerfet's* favour and promise: but this same well-talking peiple says, that a certain strong frende of Sir *Foulke Gravell's* so dealt with my Lady *Suffolk*, and my Lord *Somerfet*, or with my Lady *Somerfet*, that, by their meanes, he had the place, and was presentlei sworne Conseller to. As I remember, that frende of *Foulke Gravelle* is, by the most part, called four thousand pounds sterling; so as Sir *Thomas Leakes*, and Mr. D * * refusing to make suche a lyke frend of them to speake for them, lost the place. Sir *Foulke Gravell* hes a general good report of all men; yet it is thought, that his witt lyse not so fittinglei this way, as to have ben a Secretar. For my Lord *Knolles* *, he only gives the King thanks for his office; yet this strange peipell saie, that yf he was not married, he should not be Master of the Wardes."

Sir *Thomas Edmondes* continued to send to his Court an exact account of the situation of things in *France* at that critical season. On the 28th of *October* 1614, he wrote to the Earl of *Somerfet*, who, though then only Lord Chamberlain, yet still kept the secret of public affairs in his own hands. "By the former letters, says Sir Thomas (p), which I wrote unto his Majesty, and your Lordship, I

* *William* Lord *Knolles*, afterwards Viscount *Banbury*, and Earl of *Banbury*, was made Master of the Court of Wards, 10th of *October* 1614. He married first *Dorothy*, daughter of *Edmund* Lord *Brey*, and, secondly, *Elizabeth*, eldest daughter of *Thomas* Earl of *Suffolk*. (p) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. X.

" did

' did advertise, how greatly the Prince of *Condé's*
 ' credit was declined after the making of the treaty
 ' of *St. Menebout*, by reason of his unhappy enga-
 ' ging himself in the business of *Poitiers*; so as he
 ' was so far from being able to stand upon any
 ' terms, for the observing of the former treaty, as
 ' he could not be of a long time persuaded, that
 ' he might come with any safety hither." He
 then observes, that there was all the artifice used,
 that might be, for the deterring of the Duke of
Bouillon from coming to Court: First, out of jea-
 lousy, lest he should renew the confederacy of the
 Princes: secondly, lest he should set on foot some
 propositions at the assembly of the States, which
 would have been nothing pleasing to the Mi-
 nisters: and, thirdly, because Monsr. *de Villeroy* was
 unwilling, that he should come to exercise the charge
 of *Constable*, which belongeth to him as first Mar-
 shal of *France*, which Monsr. *de Villeroy* did in ef-
 fect supply, by virtue of his place of Secretary for
 the war. Fourthly, and lastly, for that, by his ab-
 sence, they would have rendered him more and
 more odious to the King and Queen: "Of all which
 " practices against him Monsr. *de Villeroy* hath
 " been the chief contriver. The intelligence re-
 " maineth still good between the Prince of *Condé*,
 " the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the other Princes;
 " but the said Duke doth govern himself with so
 " little constancy and courage, as none of them
 " dare to repose any confidence in him; and now
 " all, that they desire to work upon him, is, not
 " that he should be in any thing active himself,
 " but only that he would authorize and further such
 " good motions, as shall be made unto him. The
 " Duke complaineth, that he doth find, that matters
 " are carried with a strange byas here; and that only
 " by Monsr. *de Villeroy's* means. ——— The jea-
 " lousies

382 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ lousies are so great between all these great men, as
 “ they have all of them, for their better safety, in-
 “ creased the number of their followers ; and the
 “ Queen hath also caused the ordinary companies of
 “ light horse to approach nearer to this town.

“ I understand, that the *Spanish* Embassador ut-
 “ tered of late these words to a confident friend of
 “ his, that it might be his Master would yield to a
 “ surfeance of arms in the *Low Countries* ; but that
 “ he would nevertheless still keep his army afoot,
 “ to the end to have the same in a readiness for the
 “ service of the Queen. Which agreeth with that,
 “ which I formerly signified, that it was as well to
 “ give reputation to the Queen’s affairs, as for other
 “ occasions, that the King of *Spain* had made those
 “ levies.

“ The President *Jeannin*, who is a freer speaker
 “ than any of the rest of the Ministers, could not
 “ contain himself from saying to the Duke of *Bouillon*
 “ the other day, that his Majesty [King *James*] did
 “ too much intermeddle with their affairs.

“ The Marshal *d’Ancre* went, a few Days since,
 “ to the President *Jeannin*, and dealt with him in
 “ the Queen’s name, that, in respect of his old age,
 “ he would be content to resign his charge of Con-
 “ troller-General *des Finances* to one Monsr. *Doll*,
 “ who is his creature. Whereunto he stoutly an-
 “ swered him, that he would not do any such wrong
 “ to his reputation, but that he was resolved to die
 “ in the place.”

Mr. *George Villiers*, afterwards Duke of *Buckingham*, began now to grow into the King’s favour ; of which Sir *Thomas Somerset* gave Sir *Thomas Edmondson* an account in a letter from *London* of the 12th of *December* 1614. (a). “ Great speech, says he,

(a) Ibid.

“ there

he is of a new favourite, and that he should be
 of the Bedchamber ere long. For my
 t, when it is done, I will believe it; yet there
 and hath been as strange things done in our
 .—I hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer
 [Fulke Greville] of himself dispatcheth little
 messs; and therefore it is thought he will part
 h the place; but he, that shall have it, is not
 yet known.” But though Sir Thomas Somer-
 setted not to credit the discourse about the
 favourite; yet the latter, then Cup-bearer to
 King, who took the first impression in his fa-
 at Apsborpe in Northamptonshire (b), was, on
 George's day, April 23d, 1615, sworn Gentleman of
 the Bedchamber, and the next day knighted in his
 Majesty's Bedchamber. Upon which occasion Sir
 b Winwood wrote to Sir Thomas Edmondes on
 16th of that month (c); *The favour the King
 shew him is extraordinary; and many hope,
 thereby the torrent, in the course of our affairs,
 be stayed, though not the stream turned.* Sir
 b Winwood likewise observes, that *the Court was
 fuller of faction; and happy, adds he, is he,
 is farthest from it.* Thomas Earl of Arundel,
 famous Collector of Antiquities, and *Marmora*,
 h bear his name, gave Sir Thomas Edmondes the
 account of the state of the Court, in a letter of
 13d of February 1614-15 (d): “For our course
 re, I must really let you know (out of our mu-
 ally professed liberty) that suspicions and jealous-
 s are now between parties grown to that height,
 dissolve, or, at least, slack bonds of kindred,
 at I protest unto your Lordship, I, in my par-

[Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 209. 3d edit.
 under's MS. State-Papers, Vol. X.
 i. Ibid.

(c) Sir Tho.
 (d) From Arundel-

“ ticular, have no comfort or address in this place
 “ but only the King my Master’s favour, which,
 “ doubt not, will ever protect his innocency, wh
 “ without other ends than bare love and duty, fo
 “ lows him.” But these Court-factions soon ce
 tred in Sir *George Villiers*, who, upon the declin
 of the Earl of *Somerset’s* interest with the King, be
 came the reigning favourite, and governed all thing
 in as absolute and imperious a manner as his pred
 cessor, though he had scarce any other advantage
 to recommend him to his Majesty, than those of
 most graceful person. Upon what terms of famili
 rity he was with his Royal Master is evident, no
 much to the honour of either of them, from two
 volumes of original letters, which passed betwe
 them, still extant in the *Harleian* library, full of the
 obscenest expressions in our language, and such as
 Dr. *Welwood*, who has given some extracts from
 those letters, says (*e*), *might make a bawd to blush to*
repeat. So impure a correspondence is an amazing
 inconsistency with those theological and devotional
 tracts, which the King gave the world with so much
 pomp among his works, and which he caused to be
 translated into, and published in, both the *Latin* and
French tongues.

The alliance, which had been contracted in *October*
 1613, between Monfr. *de Villeroy* and the Marquis
d’Ancre, by the marriage of the grandson of the former
 with the daughter of the latter (*f*), did not prevent a
 new dispute between the Secretary and the Queen Re-
 gent’s Favourite; of which Sir *Thomas Edmondes* gave
 the following account, in a letter of the 12th of *Decem-*

(*e*) Notes on *Arthur Wilson’s* Life of King *James I.* in the
Complete History of England, Vol. II. p. 697. 1st edit.

(*f*) *Memoires de la Regence*, Tom. I. p. 119.

ber 1614, from *Paris* to Secretary *Winwood* (g).
 " I do even now understand, that M. de *Villeroy*,
 " finding himself much aggrieved with some foul
 " speeches, which were used by the Marquis d' *Ancre*
 " and his wife, of him, in styling him by the name
 " of traitor, and having thereof complained to the
 " Queen, he was so ill satisfied with the cold answers,
 " which she gave him, as thereupon he is retired,
 " very much discontented, to his house at *Conflans*.
 " But notwithstanding that, besides the unkindness,
 " which is between him and Marshal d' *Ancre*, there
 " doth also concur the ill correspondency, which he
 " hath with the Chancellor, yet he is so necessary, as
 " there will be presently care taken to repair these
 " breaches."

In another letter of the same date to Secretary
Winwood (h), Sir *Thomas Edmondes* observes, " That
 " M. de *Villeroy* was not displeased, that the disgrace
 " should light upon M. de *Puiseux* for the error,
 " which he committed [in writing a letter to the
 " French Ambassador in *England*, menacing King
 " *James* on account of the losses sustained by the
 " French from the *English*] in respect of a private
 " great unkindness, which is fallen out between him
 " and the Chancellor [whose son M. de *Puiseux* was],
 " who hath lately strictly joined himself with the
 " Marshal d' *Ancre*; and they both remain at this
 " time in ill terms with M. de *Villeroy*."

Sir *Thomas*, in his letter to the Secretary, from
Paris, of the 9th of *January* 1614-15 (i), takes
 notice, that " M. de *Villeroy*'s credit remained still
 " eclipsed by the Marquis de *Ancre*'s means; and
 " now he hath resigned to Monsr. de *Puiseux* the

(g) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, Vol. X.
 (h) Ibid. (i) Ibid. Vol. IX.

“ place, which he only retained in his hands as
 “ *forier* of the war; whereby he had the chief
 “ naging of the revenue of the *Taillon*: so
 “ now he hath no other function than only
 “ Counsellor of State.”

On the 30th of that month, Sir *Thomas Edm.*
 informed Secretary *Winwood* (k), that the *Com-*
mandeur de Sillery, brother to the Chancellor
France, was sent into *Spain*; “ and it is said,
 “ his private errand is, to do *Monfr. de i*
 “ *roy* all the ill offices he may, for the ruin
 “ his credit there; for that the Chancellor and
 “ *Marshal d’Ancre* do greatly apprehend, that
 “ reason of the affection, which is born to *M. de i*
 “ *roy* in *Spain*, he would possess the greatest p
 “ and credit with the young Queen at her co
 “ hither, in like sort, as he hath already for
 “ himself by the settling of his friends in the pl
 “ which are of nearest service about the King.
 “ I have been told, that his jealousy hath been
 “ chiefest cause of the practice for the disgracin
 “ *M. de Villeroy*; and that the *Commandeur’s* vo
 “ was expressly resolv’d on, to make it appear,
 “ notwithstanding *M. de Villeroy’s* disgrace,
 “ was care taken by the Queen to advance the
 “ parations for marriage; which, notwithstan
 “ some say will not be so soon effected, but it
 “ require some further time to discover these m
 “ ries, if any such there be.”

The peace, which had been made at *St. Men*
 between the Duke of *Ventadour* and the King’s C
 missioners on the one side, and the Prince of C
 and his party on the other, was not long obser
 the same motives, which at first occasioned th

urrection of the Prince, still subsisting, viz. the great authority of the Marshal *d'Ancre*, and the double marriage with *Spain*. This induced the malecontents, in 1615, to assemble at *Coucy*, where they entered upon a resolution to prevent the execution of that marriage; and accordingly levied forces to support themselves, as the King and Queen-Mother had done on their side. But, on the 18th of *October* the marriages were performed, the Duke of *Lerma* espousing the *Infanta* at *Burgos*, as proxy for *Lewis XIII.* and the Duke of *Guise* espousing at *Bourdeaux*, on the same day, Princess *Elizabeth*, in the name of the Prince of *Spain*.

Amidst these intestine contests in *France*, Sir *Thomas Edmondes* seems to have countenanced the Prince of *Condé's* party; which rendered him greatly obnoxious to the *French* Court: and Mr. *John Woodford*, one of his Secretaries, wrote to him from *London* on the 3d of *September* 1615 (1), that he had learnt from Mr. *Francis Cottington* (who was informed of it by Sir *Lewis Lewkner*, Master of the Ceremonies), that the *French* Ambassador had complained to the King, when his Majesty was lately at *Salisbury*, "that Sir *Thomas Edmondes's* house was the ordinary resort of all the malecontents and ill-affected persons of the State; and that all his discourses were mutinous. And therefore the Ambassador besought his Majesty to shew himself sensible thereof, as he would expect, that the King his Master should shew in the like cause of complaint against any of his Ministers. Whereunto the Ambassador said, that his Majesty made answer, *Je le châtieray moi, s'il est ainsi*: But that his Majesty added withall, that he did not believe it; and that

(1) Ibid.

“ these were the calumnies of the *Jesuits* and Je
 “ suited persons, who, maligning the amity and goo
 “ correspondence, which had long been between th
 “ two States, sought to interrupt it by traducing h
 “ Majesty in the person of his Ministers.”

On the 5th of the same month Secretary *Winwood*
 wrote to Sir *Thomas Edmondes* from the Court :
Windfor (m) : “ Many are the reasons, which move
 “ his Majesty to give you charge in his name to pr
 “ sent his intermise for the accommodating of tho
 “ differences, which, I fear, before this time a
 “ broken forth into an open combustion : but pri
 “ cipally they are these ; the care he hath of th
 “ body of the Religion, which will be in danger to b
 “ extirpated, if the marriages with *Spain* shall be a
 “ complished, and the government of the affairs r
 “ main established in the hands of those persons, wh
 “ now possess them. The preservation of the we
 “ fare of *Christendom*, which cannot but run a grea
 “ hazard, if *Spain* shall become incorporated wit
 “ *France*. The respectful care his Majesty hath c
 “ the *French* King, who, being yet but in his mino
 “ rity, should not be intangled in a civil war, by th
 “ misgovernment of them, who aim at their own
 “ private ends, for the maintenance of their great
 “ neis, to the dishonour of his crown, and the dis
 “ service of the State. The affection he doth bea
 “ to the person of the Princes, whom, in uphold
 “ ing so just and worthy a cause, with his honou
 “ he may not suffer to fall and perish.” Sir *Ralph*
 then gives an account of the audience, which th
French Ambassador had of the King, first at *White*
hall’s, then at *London*, and a double audience :
Salisbury ; “ where, whatever the Ambassador r

(m) Ibid.

“ later

lateth, his Majesty clearly and sincerely did open himself, how much he condemneth the precipitation of these marriages; the exorbitant power of the Marshal *d'Ancre*, whom, in plain terms, and in my hearing (for it was his Majesty's pleasure to have me present) he often called *Coquin*, and too base a companion to be put in balance with the Duke of *Longueville*: the misgovernment of that State, and the misdemeanour of the great officers, and namely of the Chancellor, whom, when the Embassador did excuse and commend, his Majesty replied, that he was the first *Frenchman*, that ever he heard speak well of him; adding, that, by the language he held, he found he spoke for the public, like an Embassador sent from that Queen, and for the private of the Chancellor, like his son-in-law. And whereas he [the Embassador] inveighed against the Princes, saying, whatsoever their pretences were for the good of the public, yet their ends were for their own private; and if they had any just grievances, they might as well find remedy for the redress of them, after the marriages were consummated, as before: To the first, his Majesty answered, that it was hard to judge, what several ends every particular man may have; but sure he was, that the cause they undertake, is grounded upon honour, equity, and reason. And to the second part, that he was but a young Statesman, who newly was come into the world, and plainly did discover, that this is the first service, wherein he hath been employed. And now I leave, adds Sir Ralph, to your judgment to consider, what reason this Embassador had to vaunt of his treatment."

The Prince of *Condé* and his party, and *Lewis XIII.*'s army, under the Duke of *Guise*, continued in arms

350 *View of the Negotiations between*

against each other till *January* 1615-16, when a kind of truce was agreed upon; and after that a conference at *Loudun*, where a treaty was concluded in the beginning of *May* 1616, N. S. to the advantage of the Malecontents and the Protestants, and produced a alteration at Court, the Chancellor *de Sillery* being disgraced, and the Seals given to *Monfr. du Vair* first President of the Parliament of *Provence*. Sir *Thomas Edmondes* assisted at this conference, and by his journey to *Rocbelle*, disposed the Protestants to accept of the terms offered them, and was of great use in settling the pacification; in the preamble to which he expected, that his endeavours should have been mentioned, and complained of the omission of it; nor was he allowed by *Lewis XIII.*'s Deputies to be present at signing of the peace; upon which he protested, that he would leave *France*, and inform the King his Master of the affront offered him (*n*).

While he was at *Loudun*, Secretary *Winwood* wrote to him, from *Whitehall*, on the 25th of *March* 1616 (*o*), that "an *English* merchant trading to *Marseilles* lately came over in post-haste, and brought with him an information, that there were certain *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Frenchmen*, all of great note and mark, assembled, as he said, in *London*, to execute a desperate and damnable practice intended against his Majesty's person, the Queen, and the Prince; of which conspiracy he named the Earl of *Arundel* to be partaker. The merchant, for his author, named one *Urcino*, as

(*n*) *Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis*, p. 445, 452, 505, 507, 508, 509.

(*o*) Sir *Thomas Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. XI. p. 23.

"*Italian*

“ *Italian*, who, as he saith, discovered this practice
 “ unto him at *Avignon*, came with him to *Paris*,
 “ with intention, as he professeth, to pass over into
 “ *England*; but there he left the merchant, deliver-
 “ ing him an open letter written in *Italian* to the
 “ King, which when you shall read, you will find
 “ how idle a plot this is, full of vanity, worthy ra-
 “ ther scorn and laughter, than regard or respect.
 “ Notwithstanding, diligent search hath been made
 “ through *London*, where we find no such man,
 “ no such street, or sign, where they should
 “ lodge. And though his Majesty, who hath per-
 “ used the letter, whereof I make mention, which
 “ Mr. *Parkhurst* will shew you, doth find the mat-
 “ ter most ridiculous, and to be contemned; yet
 “ the Earl of *Arundel*, jealous of his honour, hath
 “ humbly beseeched him to give him leave to search
 “ out the depth of this matter; for which purpose,
 “ at his own charge, he doth send over a Gentleman
 “ of quality, named Mr. *Parkhurst*, who hath been
 “ his Majesty’s agent with the Duke of *Savoy*. He
 “ hath charge to repair to *Paris* to Mr. *Woodford*, with
 “ whom *Prydis* the merchant, saith *Urcino*, had speech
 “ about this business, whose assistance he is to crave
 “ for the apprehension and examination of this party,
 “ whereunto there is no doubt but the Ministers of
 “ the State will be willing to give aid, because the
 “ Queen-Mother and the Marshal *d’Ancre* are charg’d
 “ to have a hand, and that deeply engaged, in this
 “ conspiracy. I cannot but approve of my Lord of
 “ *Arundel*’s careful diligence, if it be possible, to
 “ find out the truth of this calumny and slander:
 “ but I fear, as the *English* merchant hath been
 “ guil’d, and, as he saith, cast away some crowns
 “ upon the *Italian* impostor, so it will be a hard
 “ matter to apprehend the *Italian*, who either is re-

“ tired to *Avignon*, or perhaps into his own country. My Lord hath intreated me to recommend the cause unto you, which, I know, you will be pleased with affection to embrace, he being, as he is, a most worthy Nobleman, loyal to his country, and faithful to the King’s service. And this is all, which is too much, that I have to say of this matter.” Sir *Ralph* then observes, that Sir *Dudley Carleton* was gone Embassador to *Holland*, and Sir *Henry Wotton* to *Venice*, through *Heidelberg* and *Turin*; and that Sir *John Digby* was lately returned from *Spain*. *I am ashamed*, adds he, *to write what is the extremity of our penury; for which my grief is the greater, because, I profess, I see no remedy or relief.*

The next day, *March* 26th 1616, Secretary *Winwood* wrote an answer to a private letter of Sir *Thomas Edmondes* (p), with relation to the Earl of *Somerset*, who, with his Countess, had been arraigned on the 19th of *January* 1615-16, for the murder of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and a bill found against them (q). “ Now Sir *John Digby* is returned, we shall shortly see what proceedings the arraignments of the greatest personages shall have; and either we are deceived, or else the Countess of *Somerset* will be arraigned before the next term. She hath confessed herself to be guilty of the poisoning of *Overbury*; but he stands stiffly upon the denial. Great expectation there is, that Sir *John Digby* could charge him with some treasons and plots with *Spain*. To the King as yet he hath used no other language, but that, having served in place of honour, it would ill become him to be an accuser. Legally or criminally he can say nothing.

(p) *Ibid.*(q) *Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi I.* p. 16.

“ Yet

“ Yet this he says, and hath written, that all his private dispatches, wherein he most discovered the practices of *Spain*, and their intelligences, were presently sent into *Spain*; which could not be but by the treachery of *Somerset*. — My Lord *Hay*, if he come unto you (as doubtless he doth, if the peace shall be concluded), he can tell you, it was not my fault, that you were not my Adjunct. I hold my Table, my Privy-seal for secret services, and the carriage of foreign affairs. The affairs at home are common between us; and ordinarily I follow the King to *Royston* and *Newmarket*.” Sir *Ralph*’s adjunct, as he calls him, or Fellow-secretary of State, was Sir *Thomas Lake*, who had been sworn into that office on the 2d of *January* preceding (r). He was born at *Southampton*, and had been *Amanuensis* to Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Secretary of State, and by him recommended to Queen *Elizabeth*, to read to her *French* and *Latin*; and her Majesty, a little before her death, made him Clerk of the Signet. On the demise of that Queen he was by the Regency sent to attend King *James I.* from *Berwick*, who afterwards knighted him, and made use of his service in *French* affairs (s); and, by a Patent, dated *January* 2d, in the 7th year of his reign, appointed him his Secretary for the *Latin* tongue. On the 29th of *March* 1614, he was sworn of the Privy-council (t). But, having afterwards married his eldest daughter to *William Cecil*, Lord *Roos*, only son and heir of *William* Earl of *Exeter* by his first wife, he was involved in the quarrel of his wife and daughter with the Countess dowager of *Exeter*, which was the chief and only cause of his

(r) Ibid. p. 15. (s) *Aulicus Coquinaria*, p. 98, 99. and *Wood*, *Falli Oxon.* Vol. I. col. 145. 2d edit. (t) *Camden*, ubi supra, p. 9.

ruin ;

394 *View of the Negotiations between*

ruin; for thereupon he was dismissed from his office of Secretary of State, and sent to the *Tower*, on the 15th of *February* 1618-19, having, till then, continued in the honourable esteem of all men, and of the King himself; who advised him, to leave his wife and daughter to the law: upon which he humbly thanked his Majesty; but said, *he could not refuse to be a father, and an husband*. On the hearing in the Star-chamber he was fined ten thousand pounds to the King, five thousand pounds to the Countess of *Exeter*, and fifty pounds to one Mr. *Hutton*.

The new favourite, Sir *George Villiers*, who was made Master of the horse to the King, on the 4th of *January* 1615-16, was, not long after, in danger of being supplanted, in his Majesty's affections, by another; whom, as Mr. *Woodford* wrote from *Paris*, on the 29th of *March* 1616, to Mr. *Beaulieu*, then attending Sir *Thomas Edmondes* at *London* (a), the party of the Earl of *Pembroke*, the new Lord Chamberlain, endeavoured to introduce to his Majesty, upon special liking, which, it was observed, was taken of him at the seeing of a play (b) of late at *Cambridge*, wherein he was a woman-actor. His name is *Morgan*, as I understand; and he is a Gentleman of *Northamptonshire*, and heir to two thousand pounds per annum.

Sir *Dudley Carleton* had not been long settled at the *Hague*, before he wrote a letter to Sir *Thomas Edmondes*, on the 30th of *March* 1616, in which he complains of Secretary *Winwood*'s supercilious behaviour to him (c). "Touching my own poor affairs, says he, I found a gracious welcome, and received no worse farewell from his Majesty: But from

(a) Sir *Thomas Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, Vol. XI. p. 35

(b) Probably *Ignoramus*, which was acted at *Trinity-College* before his Majesty in *March* 1615-16.

(c) Ibid. p. 37.

"han

hand [Sir *Ralph Winwood*] where I promised myself much contentment, I had my part of mortification, which, notwithstanding, was well tempered betwixt four looks, curst words, and good deeds; so as I have the less cause to complain, though with your Lordship, as with an antient and inward friend, I must deal freely, that I cannot brag of my condition to live always *sub ferulâ*, which the reference, both of this place of service, wherein I am now settled, and of my wonted profession of friendship (whereof I am a religious observer), will always subject me to. Your Lordship's friends in *England* have an expectation of your return this next summer, which I heartily wish may yield you the fruits, which are due to the merit of your long service, and your late painful employments. And this comfort I will give you, that you have possession of his Majesty's good opinion, and of the love and good wishes of the whole Court, and particularly of the person I note before (whom your Lordship will guess at); which I observed both by his own professions, and many good arguments: in which respect I honour him so much the more; and wish, both for his friends sakes, and his own, that his great virtues were accompanied with some small familiarity with the Graces."

The King had, in *May* 1616, agreed to give up the Cautionary towns to the States General for the sum of two millions seven hundred twenty-eight thousand florins, in lieu of eight millions, which they had promised to pay to Queen *Elizabeth*, besides eighteen years interest (*a*). Sir *Thomas Ed-*

(*a*) *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XVI. p. 783—787. *Rushworth*, vol. I. p. 3. and *Cabala*, Supplement, p. 92, 93. edit. *London*.
54.

396 *View of the Negotiations between*

mondes, upon this occasion, wrote to Secretary *Winwood*, in that month (*e*), that, upon a dispatch from the *French* Ambassador in *Holland* to the Court of *France*, advertising this agreement between King *James* and the States, for the restoring of the Cautionary towns; and a proposition made by his Majesty to the States, for the admitting of the Emperor's name to be mentioned in the Formulary of the treaty of *Santen*; these two points were thought strange by the principal persons in the *French* council, and particularly by Monsr. *de Villeroy*, who was of opinion, " that no consideration of utility ought
" to have made his Majesty quit so great an
" interest as he had, for the retaining of that people, by that means, in devotion to him; alleging, for example, that they here, without any
" such *gages*, do disburse yearly unto the States the
" sum of two hundred thousand crowns, besides
" the absolute remittal of twelve or thirteen millions of livres, which they had disbursed for them
" in the last wars, only to draw that people to a like
" dependence on this State, as they do on his Majesty. Adding also thereunto, that his Majesty,
" having ordinarily a greater power over the affections of that people by the more natural love,
" which they bear unto him, than they here can
" promise themselves, but only in respect of the
" present great faction, which they have made by
" the means of Monsr. *Barneveldt*; it seemeth by
" the course, which we have now taken, that we
" absolutely quit the advantage to them. And as
" those, which be his Majesty's zealous servants, are
" sorry to see such divorce, as they interpret it, between
" his Majesty and that people; so there is the more
" alarm taken thereat, in respect of another adver-

(.) Sir *Tho Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. XI. p. 63.

" tilement,

ment, which is now come hither, both from *Brussels*, and also from the *Venetian* Ambassador *England*, that the *Spanish* Ambassador there do now give assurance of concluding a match between the Prince his Highness and the second daughter of *Spain*: which maketh them here to sume their former opinion, that our affections are wholly carried that way; and that we, on the one side, do as much labour to keep up the faction of *Spain*, as, on the other side, all the well-affected here do strive to depress the same; and are now in hope, by the success of the affairs, better to prevail therein than ever they were. I am sorry, that *our necessities* (if that be the cause) would carry us to *these extremities*."

In July following *James Lord Hay*, afterwards of *Carlisle*, whose eminent abilities, and zeal for honour of his Prince and country, would appear to great advantage, if his several negotiations published, was sent Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*, to congratulate the King and Queen Regent upon the pacification with the Houses of the Blood, to which King *James* had contributed as much as he was able (*f*), by the intercession of his Ambassador Sir *Thomas Edmondes*; upon *Lewis XIII.*'s marriage with *Anne of Austria*, Infanta of *Spain* (*g*); and, at the same time, to demand *Christine*, the second daughter of *Sweden*, for the Prince of *Wales* (*b*). His Lordship was treated, at that Court, with the highest respect, and unusual magnificence, and especially by the Prince of *Condé*'s party; who, by this conduct, gave new occasion of jealousy (*i*); and Marshal

^f) *Memoires de la Regence*, Tom. II. p. 221. (*g*) *Wil-*
Life of King James I. p. 92. (*b*) *Ibid.* & *Memoires*,
supra, (*i*) *Memoires*, ubi *supra*.

398 *View of the Negotiations between*

d'Ancre, observing the number of malecontents to increase upon him, persuaded the Queen, that the Prince still continued his intrigues; and therefore prevailed on her Majesty, on the 1st of *September* 1616, to take his Highness into custody, and confine him first in the *Bastille*, and afterwards in *Bois de Vincennes*. Upon this event Lord *Hay* demanded audience of the King and Queen-mother, to know the reasons of their Majesties proceeding to such extremities, that he might report them to the King his Master: But the answer, which he received, was in very general terms, he being suspected of having countenanced the malecontents; and therefore, having only proposed some regulations relating to navigation and trade, without mentioning the treaty of marriage with *Madame Christine*, he took his leave of that Court, and departed for *England* about the 6th or 7th of *September*, O. S. (1). The Prince of *Condé's* imprisonment alarmed several great men to such a degree, that the Dukes of *Vendosme*, *Guise*, *Moyenne*, *Nevers*, *Roban*, *Sully*, *la Trimouille*, *Candale*, the eldest son of the Duke of *Espernon*, the Marshal de *Bouillon*, the Marquis de *Coeuvres*, and *Nicolas le Jay*, President of the Parliament of *Paris*, retired from Court; though the Duke of *Guise* soon returned thither; and the Protestants took up arms again, and the war was renewed.

The influence of Don *Diego di Sarmientos*, Count de *Gondemar*, the Spanish Ambassador, over King *James*; and the overture, from the Court of *Spain*, of a marriage between the *Infanta Maria* and the Prince of *Wales*; were now so well known to the Court of *France*, that, when the Ambassador of the States General, as Sir *Thomas Edmondes* wrote to Se-

(1) Ibid. p. 221—237.

etary *Winwood*, on the 17th of *November* 1616 (*m*),
 id, upon a fresh order, which he had received from
 s Masters, recommended earnestly, to the *French*
 ministers, the affairs of the Duke of *Savoy*; Monsr.
 s *Villeroy*, to put off from " themselves the impu-
 ration of being partial to the *Spaniards*, said to
 him, that we were in *England* much more *Spanish*
 than they here; for that we had expressly broken
 off the treaty of marriage with them, to make
 alliance with *Spain*, being now upon the point to
 conclude the same in that place. And, to breed in
 him a greater jealousy of our State, he did assure
 him, that the *Spaniards* had not any-where a
 stronger faction than in our Court. The which
 language is but too common among them."

The *English* Court being now sensible, that Sir *Thomas*
Edmondes's long services had merited some fa-
 vour; Secretary *Winwood*, on the 25th of *Novem-*
ber 1616, wrote to him from *Whitehall* (*n*): " By
 the letters, which herewith you shall receive, ad-
 dressed to the King and Queen his Mother, you
 shall understand, that it is his Majesty's pleasure,
 that you should return into *England*,, but not to
 quit your charge; but, after a few days, when
 you have kissed his Majesty's hands, and received
 such honour, as he is resolved to confer upon you,
 in acknowledgment of your long, painful, and
 faithful services, then to return again to resume
 your charge; and there to remain, until the affairs
 of that Kingdom, which now do hang in a slip-
 pery and uncertain state, shall be better esta-
 blished."

In answer to this letter Sir *Thomas Edmondes* wrote
 to Secretary *Winwood* from *Paris*, on the 30th of

(*m*) Sir *Tho. Edmondes*'s MS. State-Papers, Vol. XI. p. 155.
 v. Ibid. p. 141.

that month (o): I have acquainted the King and
 “ Queen with the favourable permission, which his
 “ Majesty hath granted me to make a journey into
 “ *England*, and presented them with my letters
 “ to that effect: Whereupon they were permitted to
 “ take present order for my departure, so that I hope
 “ to take my leave from hence within a very few
 “ days.” In the same letter he observes, that, hav-
 ing upon that occasion, been to speak with the new
 Secretary of State, the Bishop of *Luçon*, afterwards
 Cardinal *de Richelieu*, who had been preferred to the
 post of Secretary by Marshal *d’Ancre*, upon the im-
 prisonment of the Prince of *Condé*; “ the Bishop la-
 “ boured earnestly, *says he*, to persuade me, not to
 “ believe, that he is any-way *Spanish*-affected; or,
 “ notwithstanding the character, which he beareth,
 “ of a Priest, that he will be any whit the more par-
 “ tial in the execution of his charge against those of
 “ the Religion; but protested, contrariwise, that he
 “ would give better proof of his integrity and indif-
 “ ference, than other of his predecessors had done.”

Sir *Thomas Edmondes* returned to *England* in De-
 cember 1616; and, on the 21st of that month, was
 made Comptroller of the King’s Household, in
 the room of the Lord *Wotton*, who was appointed
 Treasurer of the Household; and, the next day, Sir
Thomas was sworn of the Privy-council, and took
 his Seat at the Table above the Vice-chamber-
 lain (p).

He continued in *England* till *April* following; on
 the 14th of which month the assassination of Mar-
 shal *d’Ancre*, as he was entering the *Louvre*, by
 Monfr. *de Vitry*, Captain of the Guards, who had the
 King’s orders to seize him, put an end to the civil war;

(o) Ibid p 168.
 p. 22.

(p) Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi I.

and

and, at the same time, occasioned a change at Court: the Chancellor *de Silleri* being recalled, and Monsr. *Villeroy*, and the President *Jeannin*, with other officers, restored; and the Queen-mother, whose great Confidence the Marshal had been, being discharged from the administration of public affairs, to which Monsr. *de Luynes*, the King's favourite, immediately succeeded.

In this situation of the Court of France Sir *Thomas Edmondes* began his journey thither in the latter end of April 1617; and, upon the road, received the following letter from *Villiers*, who had been created Earl of *Buckingham* on the 5th of January preceding (q), dated from the Court at *Hexham* on the 27th of April (r), "I doubt not, but, according to those directions I lately sent from his Majesty, touching your speedy departure, this letter will come into your hands, when you are well forward in your journey. — His Majesty is of your opinion touching the Princes; and he holdeth it very fit, seeing they are now like to have the chief place and authority in the carriage of business, that you rise higher in the valuation of his Majesty's favours towards them, who is very glad, that, before those things fell out, he had shewed, in his instructions given you, his great care of their preservation. Touching Monsr. *de Luynes*, his Majesty liketh very well, that you give him such assurance of his Majesty's affection towards him, as may breed a good correspondence from him again, and encourage him in those good courses he hath taken in hand. His Majesty would not have you, by any means, omit one, whom your letter doth not mention;

(q) Ibid. p. 23.
al. XI. p. 189.

(r) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers,

402 *View of the Negotiations between*

“ and that is Monfr. *de Vitry* ; but would have you
 “ let him know, how glad his Majesty is, that he
 “ hath been an instrument to do his Master so
 “ good service, as to deliver him from that thral-
 “ dom, whereinto he was brought ; and doubteth
 “ not, but, as he hath had a fortunate hand in his
 “ deliverance, he will ever have a faithful heart to
 “ his service ; whereunto you are, by all means, to
 “ encourage him, on his Majesty’s part, in such
 “ fashion, as you shall think fit.” It is very re-
 markable, that King *James*, and his favourite, should
 give the sanction of their approbation to so extraor-
 dinary a proceeding against even a bad Minister, as
 the assassination of Marshal *d’Ancre*, and their
 thanks to Monfr. *de Vitry*, who murdered him ; and
 the Earl of *Buckingham* little considered at that time,
 that his own ill conduct, which drew upon him the
 universal odium of the nation, would mark him out
 as a victim to private violence, when he had raised
 himself above public justice. But Sir *Thomas Ed-
 mondes* acknowledges, that the taking off of *d’Ancre*,
 in the way it was done, was the only means of re-
 covering the Regal authority in *France*. “ Since my
 “ coming hither, says he in a letter to the King
 “ from *Paris* of the 12th of *June* 1617 (s), I have
 “ found cause fully to be satisfied touching the ob-
 “ jection, which was made in *England* about the
 “ violent killing of Marshal *d’Ancre* ; it being no-
 “ torious, that if the King had not taken the resolu-
 “ tion, which he did, for the sudden cutting of him
 “ off, it was impossible to have executed it by any
 “ other way, considering the absoluteness of the
 “ Queen’s authority, and the greatness of the Marshal
 “ *d’Ancre*’s faction, who would have left nothing un-
 “ attempted in his favour, so long as he had been liv-

(s) *Ibid.* p. 202.

“ ing.

ing. And I find also, that those of the faction had great reason to lament his death ; for that they never received a greater blow than they have done by that action, in respect of the assurances, which they had conceived of the ruin of this State, which, by the practices of the said Marshal d'Ancre with them, was brought very near to his period.

“ In the Archduke's country they have not only discovered a passionate sorrow for the Marshal d'Ancre's death ; but there is nothing more commonly spoken of, than that something will be attempted, in revenge thereof, against the King's person.”

Sir John Digby, Vice-chamberlain, was, in this month of June 1617, preparing to return to Spain, in order to negotiate the marriage between the Infanta and the Prince of Wales ; for which King James was greatly zealous, in hopes, that the Infanta's portion might supply his necessities, which were extremely pressing ; for he was unwilling to apply for relief to a Parliament, of whom he had a prodigious jealousy, out of tenderness for his prerogative. But the Spanish Court's design at that time seems only to have been to amuse him ; and Mr. Francis Cottington, afterwards Lord Cottington, and Master of the Court of Wards, who was then at Madrid, had no hopes from that Court ; for he wrote from thence to Sir Thomas Edmondes, on the 28th of July 1617 (1): “ I expect Mr. Vice-chamberlain here about the end of September. What his business is, I assure myself I need not tell your Lordship ; only thus much to you in secret, that, for my part, I have no hope at all of any contentment of good success, that he shall find here.”

(1) Ibid. p. 238.

404 *View of the Negotiations between*

Sir *Thomas Edmondes* returned from his Embassy in *France* in the latter end of this year 1617, in which *England* and *France* lost two very able Secretaries of State; the former Sir *Ralph Winwood*, and the latter *Monfr. de Villeroy*. Sir *Ralph Winwood* was son of *Richard*, and Grandson of *Lewis Winwood*, Secretary to *Charles Brandon*, Duke of *Suffolk*. He was born at *Aynhoe* in *Northamptonshire* (a), and educated in *St. John's College* in the University of *Oxford* (b), whence, in 1582, he was elected Probationer-fellow of *Magdalen-College* (c); and, on the 15th of *November* that year, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts (d); and, on the 22d of *June* 1587, that of Master (e); and, on the 2d of *February* 1590, that of Bachelor of Law (f). In 1592 he was Junior-proctor of the University (g); and, on the 6th of *July* 1594, supplicated to be admitted Doctor of Civil Law; but it does not appear, whether he was ever admitted to that degree (h). He afterwards travelled into foreign parts, where he accomplished himself in such a manner, that, in 1599, he attended Sir *Henry Neville* in his Embassy to *France*, as his Secretary; and was afterwards Resident at *Paris*, Envoy and Ambassador to the *Spanish* General, Commissioner in the treaty for the truce, and at last Secretary of State; which post he filled with the reputation of an honest Minister, and a zealous enemy to the *Spanish* faction, then predominant at the *English* Court. He died on the 27th of *October* 1617 (i), and was interred in the Church of *St. Bartholomew the Less* in *London*, leaving behind him one son, *Richard*, afterwards of *Ditton Park* in

(a) *Wood*, Fasti Oxon. Vol. I. col. 133. (b) *Ibid.* col. 123. (c) *Idem*, col. 133. (d) *Idem*, col. 123. (e) *Idem*, col. 133. (f) *Idem*, col. 139. (g) *Idem*, col. 142. (h) *Idem*, col. 148. (i) *Camdeni Annales Regis Jacobi I.* p. 27.

Bucks, who died in 1688 without issue; and a daughter, *Anne*, married to *Edward Lord Montagu*, Grandfather of the present Duke of *Montagu*.

Secretary *Winwood*'s death was soon followed by that of *Nicolas de Neufville*, Seigneur de *Villeroy*, who died on the 2d of *December* 1617, aged seventy-four years, having served his country fifty-six years under four different Kings (*k*), and succeeded his father-in-law *Monfr. de l'Aubespine*, in the post of Secretary of State in *October* 1567 (*l*). He had joined the League after the death of *Henry III.* but it was chiefly owing to his advice and persuasions, that the Duke of *Mayenne* would never consent to the dismembring of the Kingdom of *France*, or transferring the Crown to a foreign Prince (*m*). He grew at last weary of the fatigue and dissipation of a Court-life. *How happy are you*, said he to *Monfr. de Pleffis Mornay*, who went to see him at *Rouen* three days before his death, and the first of his illness, *in knowing how to retire early from the world! You are much wiser than we.* And he declared, that this should be the last journey he would ever take (*n*).

Sir *Ralph Winwood*'s post of Secretary of State would have been very properly supplied by Sir *Thomas Edmondes*; but he was passed over upon that, as well as upon former occasions; though, on the 19th of *January* 1617-18, he was advanced to the place of Treasurer of the Household, upon the resignation of the Lord *Wotton* (*o*).

(*k*) Histoire du Regne de Louis XIII. Roy de France, Tome II. p. 439. edit. Paris 1716. (*l*) Memoires d'Estat par *Monfr. de Villeroy*, Tom. I. p. 3. edit. de Paris, 1665. (*m*) *Le Vasseur*. L. XI. Tom. III. p. 169. (*n*) *La Vie de Philippes de Mornay*, Seigneur du Pleffis, Marly, &c. L. IV. p. 478. edit. Leyde 1647, 4to. (*o*) *Camden*, ubi supra, p. 29.

406 *View of the Negotiations between*

This post prevented his return to *France*, though he was sometimes consulted upon the affairs of that Kingdom; for I find the following letter * to him from the Marquis of *Buckingham*, which, though without a date, was evidently written soon after the revolution in the government of *Holland* in *August* 1618, when Prince *Maurice* caused *Barneveldt*, *Grotius*, and *Hogobets*, to be imprisoned, and all the Magistrates of the *Arminian* party to be deposed.

“ SIR,

“ I have acquainted his Majesty with your letter; who commanded me to tell you, that you have good reason, and well to the purpose, to make those doubts you do touching *Monfr. Bafloreé*; but his Majesty hath already met with them, and taken them away, as you will perceive by his directions to him. For, first, he hath directed him to land at *Rochelle*, and not to pass farther, unless he meet with some convoy, and company of some *French* Gentlemen of the Religion, whom he may trust; that so he may be sure to pass safely, and therein to guide himself, according to the Duke of *Bouillon*'s advice: And, though he should be surprised, there could come no harm thereby, save only to his own person, his Majesty not caring, though all the world should know what the directions are, that are given him. For his Majesty maketh no promise to give them assistance, unless the whole Body of the Religion should be assailed, and the edicts broken, and they in danger of apparent ruin: In which case his Majesty doth engage himself to assist them; which, though he should have no other means to

* Sir Thomas Edmondes's MS. State-Papers, Vol. XI.

“ per-

“ perform, he will call a Parliament for that purpose, not doubting but his people will be as ready to furnish him with means, as his Majesty to engage himself to aid them in that cause. But otherwise he is, on his Majesty’s behalf, to persuade them, by all means, to yield obedience to their King and State; and to endure some injuries, rather than to give any advantage against themselves by any disloyal course. And, for the secrecy of his errand, he is not to acquaint the whole Assembly with any thing, but only two or three of the Deputies, who are unsuspected of any engagement or intelligence with the Ministers of State, wherein he is to use the Duke of *Bouillon*’s advice. Besides, he is not to give any notice at all to any man of his coming from his Majesty, if at his coming thither he find things in terms of composing, and tending to agreement; but only in case of necessity, if he see them grow to extremities.

“ For your answer to the Duke of *Bouillon*’s letter, his Majesty would have you write unto him, that you have acquainted his Majesty with his letter; who saith, that if he were his own sworn Counsellor, he could not give advice better concurring with his Majesty’s ends. As for *France*, his Majesty’s purpose was not to make a rupture with them, having no quarrel to the King or State, albeit the disgraces are too evident, which they put upon him. But his Majesty considereth, that it proceedeth from the ill government of those, that are in authority, both at home and abroad: And that his Majesty daily expecteth (as the Duke himself doth) an alteration of those things, which cannot long continue in that course they now are:

“ And gave his agent charge (if he had had the honour to take his leave of the King) to tell him,
 “ he hopeth it will not be long, before he would discern between his good friends and allies, and his enemies ; and likewise between his true and faithful servants, and ill Ministers ; which directions to his agent, his Majesty joyeth, do so concur with the very words of the Duke’s own letter.

“ And, for the *Low Countries*, his Majesty joineth with him likewise, in conceiving the causes of all these precedent exasperations to have proceeded from those, who were in authority, being ill-affected both to his and their own State ; and doubteth not, but, upon those alterations so happily fallen out amongst them, he shall find better respect from them, there being now come Commissioners deputed to treat with his Majesty about all former differences, wherein they shall find his Majesty’s readiness to have them accommodated, and for settling a firmer course of correspondence hereafter, wherein his Majesty will, on his part, omit nothing to declare his affection to the common cause ; and how necessary he holdeth it for all, that profess the truth of the gospel, to unite themselves together against those, that combine, by distraction, to overthrow them. And holdeth the same opinion, as he doth, of Monsr. *Aersens* to be the fittest instrument, that can be used, to accommodate the differences, and is minded to make use of him.

“ And to acquaint him with those particulars of his instructions to *Boislorée*, whereby he may see the concurrence of his advice with those his Majesty’s directions.

“ His Majesty would have you deliver this note of instructions from him to Monsr. *Boislorée*.

“ And

England, France, and Bruffels. 409

“ And I desire you to send this letter of mine with
“ yours to the Duke of *Bouillon*. And so I rest

“ *Your very loving Friend at command,*

G. Buckingham.

“ I send you your letters back again according to
“ your desire.”

Sir *Thomas Edmondes* continued in his post of Treasurer of the Household till his death in 1639, without ever being again employed in foreign affairs, except upon occasion of the peace concluded between *England* and *France*, on the 14th of *April* 1629.

King *Charles* I. being destitute of all means for continuing the war with *France*, on account of his aversion to the calling of a Parliament, had endeavoured an accommodation with *Lewis* XIII. while the latter was before *Rochelle*, by means of the Embassadors of the King of *Denmark*, and the States General of the United Provinces. But the answer returned to those Embassadors was, that if they had a power from the King of *England*, to ask peace of him, and to offer the satisfactions, which he was to give *France* to obtain it, they would enter into a Negotiation with them; and not otherwise. So fierce an answer shewed plainly enough, that they were not afraid of King *Charles*, and that he must at last submit to what *France* pleased. The treaty being at length concluded, by the mediation of *Ludovico Contarini*, and *Zorzo Zorzi*, the *Venetian* Embassadors at *London* and *Paris*, in the name of the Senate of *Venice*, without comprehending the Reformed of *France*
in

410 *View of the Negotiations between*

in it, whom King *Charles* had promised to support (a); Sir *Thomas Edmondes* was commissioned, on the 11th of *June* 1629 (b), *ea, qua pollet, & quam compertam habemus, fidelitate, circumspectione, solertiâ, & industriâ*, to go Ambassador to *France*, and carry his Majesty's ratification of the peace, and to receive the oath of the King of *France* to the observance of it. Five days after the date of this Commission, viz. 16th of *June*, he wrote the following letter to the Queen of *Bohemia* from *London* (c): "I hope it will not be displeasing to your Majesty, to receive the most dutiful respects and observances of your antient servant, who, as heretofore unuseful, hath long lain by the walls; but being now commanded to undertake a new employment, do desire to leave nothing unremembred, either in this, or in any other occasion, to testify my most humble devotion to your Majesty's service, which, with my best faculties, I shall be ever most careful to perform. My employment is of honour and weight, to carry his Majesty's ratification of the peace lately made with *France*, and receive the King's oath for the observance of the same, and to treat of some other important business. But, in respect of the length and painfulness of my journey to those remote parts, where the King now is, it may be called rather the voyage of a postilion, than of an Ambassador. But, howsoever, I will omit nothing, which may concern the discharging of my duty in any thing, which shall be required of

(a) *Le Clerc*, Vie d'Armand Jean, Cardinal Duc de Richelieu, Tom. I. p. 445, 446. 2 edit. 1696.

(b) *Rymer's Fœdera*, Vol. XIX. p. 86.

(c) Sir *Tho. Edmondes's* MS. State-Papers, Vol. XII. p. 45:

"me."

England, France, and Brussels. 411

"me." Sir *Thomas* accordingly went to *France*, where *Lewis XIII.* swore to the peace, in his presence, at *Fontainebleau*, with great solemnity, in *September* that year; as King *Charles* did at *Windsor* before *Monfr. l' Aubespine de Chateauneuf* the French Ambassador (e).

(d) Le Vaffor. Tom. VI. Part I. p. 111.



A R E-



A
RELATION
OF THE
STATE of FRANCE,
WITH THE
Characters of HENRY IV. ^{king of France} and the
Principal PERSONS of that Court.

Drawn up by
Sir GEORGE CAREW, ^{ambassador earl of Dorset} upon his Return
from his Embassy there in 1609, and addressed
to King JAMES I.

Never before Printed.





T O T H E
KING's most excellent MAJESTY *.

WHEN beyond any desert or expectation of mine, it pleased your MAJESTY to honour me with the charge of your Embassador resident in France, I began first in England to read, and meditate upon the stories of that country, and the leagues, treaties, and other affairs, which had passed between the two crowns; being chiefly holpen therein by books, and notes, which I received from the Earl of Salisbury, now Lord Treasurer of England. During the time of my abode in France, I continued the same course, seeking also further to inform myself thereof, by conferences with men of that nation, and of strangers, who in my time followed that court. The collection of those readings, meditations, and conferences, I now humbly offer to your MAJESTY, as reason is I should, seeing I was there at your charge. This course of making relations the Venetian Embassadors always use

* This discourse was dedicated to King James I. in 1609, about six months before the death of Henry IV.

at their return from their several services, both in a settled and continual speech before the Privy Council of the State, and likewise by reducing it into writing afterwards. Though the matter, in my opinion, merit not Your trouble in reading it; yet I hope your MAJESTY will allow the example, whereby others of better judgment, which serve You in the like places, may be incited to do it better. The sum of this treatise consisteth in these heads :

1. The name of France.
2. The ancient and modern limits thereof.
3. The quality, strength and situation of the same.
4. The riches.
5. Their politic orders.
6. Their disorders and dangers.
7. The persons governing, with those, who are likely to succeed.
8. In what terms they live with their bordering neighbours.
9. And lastly, the state of matters between your MAJESTY's Dominions and theirs.

So humbly praying Your MAJESTY's gracious acceptance, &c.

RELATION

OF THE

STATE OF FRANCE.

Concerning the name of France.

COUNTRIES for the most part receive their names, either from their first discoverers, noting some particularity in them; or from their conquerors. So fell in England, which was first called Britannia, name attributed to it by strangers, in regard of painting of the inhabitants bodies; and afterwards Anglia, of the Angli, a people of the Saxons, conquering the greatest part thereof, called the after their own name. So this country being called Gallia by strangers arriving, who saw the neifs of their bodies resembling milk, was afterwards by the Franks, which conquered the same, by the assumed name of the men, Francia,rankenrich. It is said that Germany changed name so into Almayne. But more assured it is, a part of the Illyricum came to have the name of

E c

Sclavonia :

Sclavonia : For a company of adventurers seeking few provinces to conquer, termed themselves Sclavi, of Sclava, which in the Polonian tongue signifieth Glory or Fame ; and thereof termed their conquered land Sclavonia. But this appellation had worse success than that of Francia ; for many of those people by mutual incursions being taken by the Italians their borderers, and kept in bondage as prisoners of war, not rich enough to ransom themselves, gave the name of their nation to a particular appellation of servitude ; so as here hence a bondman is called by the Italians, Schiavo ; Esclave by the French, and Slave with us ; as by the like occasion the ancient Romans called the name of their bondmen Getæ and Syri. But the assumed name of those, who conquered Gallia, hath ever retained the signification of freedom, as at first it was intended ; which the president Fauchet witnesseth in his history, saying, *Entendez toujours, par le mot de François, les nobles ; car du commencement aucun ne porta ce nom, qu' il ne fust exempt d' imposs.* And as this name hath conserved the honour of its original ; so hath it much encreased in extension, or largeness. For albeit neither Cæsar nor Tacitus so much as name these people in that curious enumeration, which they make of the nations of Gallia and Germany ; yet at this day the eastern people of Greece and Asia give the name of Franks, not only to the French, but to the Italians, Germans, and all other people of this western part of Europe. The first mention of this name is in Trebellius Pollio, about the year 260, in the signification of Authors of freedom. It is again, in Vopiscus, about the year 275, and after in sundry other authors, as in Eutropius, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Socrates in his ecclesiastical history. But the French histories assign the year of our Lord 420 to Pharamond, the first duke of the Franks ;
and

State of France under King Henry IV. 419

and the year 449 to the first king Meroveus, who was slain in the battle against Attila, and is supposed to have first subdued to himself towns and territories in Celtica ; and therefore of him the first family of their kings have the denomination of Merovingians. His son Childeric to have been the first natural born prince of the Franco-Galli, joining both the nations together ; and his grandchild Clovis (who began his reign *anno* 486) to have been the first Christian king among them.

The ancient and modern limits of France.

THE country, whence those came, who first termed themselves Franks, is supposed to be the sea-coast between the Rhene and Visurgis, which the Chauci or Sicambri then inhabited, now the Saxons, those of Westphalia, Frizeland, and Holland. Some of the French authors are of opinion, that where Tacitus speaks of the Caninefates victories against the Romans, and saith of them, *Magna per Germanias Galliasque fama, libertatis auctores celebrabantur*, he doth interpret their assumed name of Franks. From those parts they first made piratical spoils by sea, upon the coast of Gallia, and after many incursions, possessed themselves of the land also. The chief seat of their empire under the Merovingians, is said to be at Pado, a town of Westphalia. Under the same race they are said to have enlarged their dominions in Gallia, as far as the river Garunna, in the space of three hundred years, accounting from Meroveus to Pepin, the first king of the Carlovingians. There were also sundry other ravaging nations, which made incursions upon the Roman empire ; as the Vandals, which conquered the coast of Africa on the Mediterranean Sea, and

after Italy. So did the Heruli under their king Odoacer, which they held till they were driven thence by Theodoricus king of the Ostrogoths, sent thither by Zeno the emperor. From them the Greeks got it under the Conduct of Belisarius, till they were driven out again by the Lombards, called in thither by Narſes, whom at laſt the Franks diſpoſſeſſed under Charlemagne, at the inſtigati- on of the pope. The Viſigoths took the ſouth part of France, now called Languedoc, and the adjacent regions of Spain, which they held a long time. Britannia Armorica was likewise then poſſeſſed by thoſe, who came out of Britain with Maximus, about the year 370, under their own peculiar kings, as the Britiſh ſto- ries, or under dukes, as the French ſto- ries ſtile them; but both acknowledge, that they were not ſubdued by the French. The Burgundians got the part of Gallia about Lyons, and the country now called Burgundy againſt the Huns under Attila, as againſt the laſt comers, and potent enemies. All theſe people were glad to join with the Romans, who ſtill held Provence and ſome other parts; and ſo under the conduct of Aetius, overthrew them in that memorable battle, fought in *Campis Catalaunicis*, where there died about 180,000 men. But the Franks having their reſidence nearer than any other of thoſe ravaging nations, found the means of getting farther footing; and in tract of time wan out and ſubdued all the reſt. The laſt, excepting the Britains, were the Viſigoths in Aquitania, who joined with the Franks under Charles Martel, for driving a troop of 200,000 Saracens out of thoſe countries, or rather in ſlaughtering them near to Poictiers. In this firſt race of the Merovingians, the manner ***.

The

The quantity, situation, and strength of France.

Quantity.

NEvertheless briefly to touch the quantity thereof; the geographers say, that it containeth in longitude near about 330 leagues, and in latitude 285, in the figure almost of a square, which, next to the circular figure, and species thereof, as the Geometricians tell us, is of greatest capacities, and the circuit of the whole is held to exceed 1020 leagues. Now albeit Spain, Germany, Poland, yea, and the king of Denmark's dominions perchance exceed these in quantity; yet the fertility of their territory considered, and that this country is every where stored with great and well peopled, yea, and well stored cities and towns, full of all sorts of artificers, and manufacturers; it may be accounted the greatest united and entire force of any realm or dominion, at this present in Christendom. This is certain, that from the time of Hugh Capet downward, it was never of greater strength and ampleness than it is at this day. Sir Walter Mildmay, that grave ancient counsellor, was wont in his time, to resemble the steps of France of late years to those of the ancient Roman commonwealth, applying to them that saying of Titus Livius in the preface of his history; *A parvis initiis orta in tantum crevit, ut jam magnitudine laboret sua*. And surely who so shall well consider, how redoubtable the kings of this country were about 400 years past in the time of St. Lewis, and sundry of his predecessors and successors; what exploits of war they performed both at home and abroad, when they had to encounter them at home, first the kings of England, who held well near the third part of France in their possession, then the dukes of Britany, which pretended

to hold that large territory in sovereignty, besides the dukes of Burgundy, lords of Dauphiné, and earls of Provence ; and shall weigh, that all these are now swallowed up into that former strength, (the sovereignty of Flanders only excepted, which in those times yielded trouble rather than aid to the crown of France) and that with a more absolute and sovereign kind of government, than ever was used in those former times ; must needs conclude, that the strength of this kingdom is at this day very huge, and much to be feared of its neighbours, in regard of the rash and enterprising courages of the inhabitants. But itself, in regard to the natural and artificial fortresses thereof, in way of defensive war, needeth not to fear her borderers, and therefore the situation thereof is very considerable ; for in their bounds and frontiers they are very marvelously strengthened, both naturally by the Pyrenees between Spain and it ; by the Alps between it and Italy ; by the Ocean and the Mediterranean seas for the greatest part of the rest ; and artificially, by many strong fortresses between them and the Low Countries, in so much, as neither in old time did our king Edward the third, by assailing France on that side, work any great effect, nor in latter times did the emperor Charles the fifth much profit himself by any of his enterprises undertaken that way. For the remnant, where they are severed from the empire, it seemeth to be the advantage of this kingdom, that their frontiers are no stronger, as being more likely by their united strength to grow upon the limits of the disunited forces of Germany, than to receive any great discommodity from them ; whereof our fathers saw the experience in their getting from the empire the towns of Mets, Thoul, and Verdun ; and many conjecture they may in time extend their borders as far as the river of Rhine, upon sundry occasions, and opportunities, that may arise and present themselves. The rather for that the same

same having been in time past the limit of the ancient Gallia, that ministereth unto that nation a kind of secret pretence that way still. It addeth also much to the strength of this kingdom against the invasions of strangers, that generally throughout the land, there are many strong towns and fortresses; whereby it hath come to pass, that either they have forced their most potent enemies to depart without fight, as in the year 1536 they caused the emperor Charles the fifth to do out of Provence; or if they have fought and been overthrown (as in many battles against the English nation) yet by means of those towns, have the English been able to make little advantage of their victories. But it hath this discomfort with it likewise, that it maketh a war once begun to continue a long time among them, to the desolation of their country; whereas with us the matter in much shorter time is debated and decided.

Situation.

Besides their security, their situation yieldeth them many commodities and advantages; for (besides the great tract of sea-coasts on the ocean from Bayonne to Calais, whereby it is apt for all exploits upon the said ocean) their coast on the Mediterranean, from Locate and Narbonne, as far as Nice in Savoy, openeth a way to them for all exploits likewise on Italy or Afric, and all the Levant parts, when so great a force shall see their occasion in course of war, to stir and rouse itself any of these ways. Add hereunto, that in the time of peace, it ministereth to the inhabitants opportunity of all kind of commodities in way of traffic and intercourse, to receive whatsoever is delightful or profitable in the whole world. Besides, it being seated between the dominions of Spain, Italy, and Flanders, those estates must always be beholden to this for sending up and down even ordinary packets

and messages, one from the other, either by land or sea. And of this advantage they so notably prevailed themselves heretofore, as the emperor Charles the fifth, for appeasing and settling the tumults of the Gantois, and troubles of Flanders, was fain to commit himself in person to the mercy of Francis the first, in passing by land through France, obtaining the leave thereof, by offering to part with the dutchy of Milan to one of the sons of Francis. And at this day, since the county of Bresse came under this crown, the king of Spain cannot send any soldiers from his dominions in Italy into Flanders but by the leave of this state. In the like posture it is also partly in stopping the intercourse between your majesty's dominions and Spain; and that in this respect we have more need and use of their friendship, than they have of ours; as this king told me in plain terms, when I moved him about staying of Tyrone at his flight out of Ireland, who purposed to have gone for Spain, but was driven to take land there. But their chiefeft strength is, or ought to be, the multitude of their people; for that, as Solomon says, 'is the riches of a king.' And touching this point the king told me two particularities; the first, that he had caused the number of all the people of Paris to be taken during my time of service there; and that he found there were in it then 100,000 souls more than at any time heretofore. The second, that he could raise in his realm 50,000 horsemen, and 200,000 foot, without making any plow to stand still, or any tradesman to leave his work.

Military force. I. Horsemen.

To speak of their military forces, and to begin with their horsemen. They have ever had principal reputation, even from Julius Cæsar's time, (who ever speaketh with great accompt and estimation of Celte Equites) to the battle of Ivry, where in less number, they

they overthrew the flower and choice of all the cavalry, that are commanded by the king of Spain, namely, Italians, Germans, Wallons, and Spaniards. Indeed never were the French horse so much beaten and pursued by the weapons of any other nation, as they have been by the arrows of the English. Their strength of horsemen in old time consisted of those, who held lands subject to the ban and arrier-ban, much like those, who held by escuage with us. These were bound to serve within the realm for three months. It is now for the most part turned into a matter of revenue, in paying fines to be dispensed of the service, which all Roturiers, that hold knight's fees, must do. Gentlemen may either do that, or serve in person, at their election. All these now serve as light horsemen. In latter times, Charles the seventh, in his wars against the English, elected the *gens d'arms*, or *bommes des ordonances*, so called, because they were to be ruled *selon les ordonnances par luy faites*; and for payment of their wages, the imposition upon wine sold by retail was augmented. These were to be compleatly armed themselves for defence and offence, with lance and sword, and to have their own horses barded, with certain archers and others to attend on them; insomuch as to every lance pertained, one way or other, six horses. Their number was 4000: in name and shew the same number continueth still, and many of the nobility stile themselves captains of 200 or 150 *bommes d'armes*, and of so many more of light horsemen, of which the companies of the king, queen, their and his children are the most; and besides those, the companies of the count Soissons, the dukes of Guise, and of Mayenne. And now there appertaineth but one horse or two at most to a lance. These, in time of peace, serve for all sudden occasions, and to entertain the ancient discipline. In time of war they serve for officers in new erected companies

companies, to order, and address them the better: and to the same end he entertaineth certain colonels, or Reytmeisters, amongst the Almaines, to serve him when they shall be required, with a certain number of horse given them, *in speciem pensionis* in the mean time; as to Sir Henry Gunthrode he made a fair patent under the great seal to be colonel of 1200 pistoliers, and gave him therefore 1200 crowns pension; but the king himself told me, he meant not to pay that pension.

II. *Foot.*

Touching the foot forces, there are now, in time of peace of this nation, entertained five regiments of twenty companies a-piece, to wit, that of the Guards, of Champagne, of Navarre, of Picardy, and of Piedmont, and two new of the colonels Du Boys and Nereftan, consisting only of six companies a piece. Of these regiments, each company of the Guards hath in it eighty or ninety persons; but those of the other regiments have in them not past thirty-three persons, which serve as it were to hold the joints of the company together till there be occasion of service, and then by way of recruits they fill up each company with soldiers to the number of 150 or 200. These soldiers are distributed in the garrison towns, upon the frontiers. The governors, notwithstanding, have in divers places besides these, regiments of their own; as in Calais alone, Monf. De Vic hath to the number of 400 soldiers or upwards. But they trust not so much to those of their own nation, as they do to the auxiliary forces of the Switzers; as appeared in the expedition, which the king made to Sedan, against Monf. De Bouillon in the year 1606; and yet the Gascoignes and Bretons, in old time, matched the English in valour, as in the reign of Edward the third, when the English were most in reputation for the

the same. The Gascoignes retain their reputation still ; the Bretons have now lost it.

And these are in effect the forces of horse and foot, which they ordinarily retain for the wars. For as touching the Scottish guard, and that of Switzers, they serve for the king's person, as likewise the archers under the Chevalier du Guet ; and the marshals serve for the execution of justice in the time of peace.

It is to be noted, touching their foot forces, that though Francis the first made an institution of legionaries in each quarter of his realm, and appointed levies upon his people for payment of them ; yet now the legions are vanished, and the payments only remain. Wherefore in their needs, they are fain to use mercenaries. One of their own men wondereth, why they cannot at this day, without difficulty, raise 40 or 50,000 fighting men ; whereas in Cæsar's time they raised them 100,000, in so much as they were fain to discharge many, who offered their service ; and he resolveth the doubt by saying, it proceedeth from the difference of education, most of the French busying themselves now in handling the pen, and then the sword. So as their kings may more easily levy at this day 200,000 penmen and chicanours, than 30,000 men of war. To which I think may be added, that they keep their yeomanry in such servitude, as neither dare they trust weapons in their hands, nor can they spare them from the tilling of their ground ; nor yet are those capable of being good soldiers, being kept continually both out of heart, by the violent and proud commandment and insolencies of their landlords, and from means of wealth to furnish themselves of necessities requisite to a soldier, or to make their bodies lusty and able ; but their minds are base and dastardly, and their bodies wearish and shrimp-like.

Armour.

Armour.

For arming their soldiers, and furnishing their camps and fortresses with munition, they are at this day very well provided; for they have in sundry places of the realm, to the number of ten arsenals; among the which, in that of Paris alone, there is armour enough to furnish more than 30,000 footmen and six thousand horsemen, besides great store of ordnance, and requisite munition, able thoroughly to supply many armies, both for service of the field, and besieging of towns.

Sea-force.

It resteth to speak of their forces by sea, which indeed were never great; but in all their exploits upon the Levant Seas, they hired the gallies and ships of the Genoese, Pisans, Venetians, and other Italians; as likewise in their attempts against England they made them come about, and serve on the ocean. Sometimes also they used the sea-forces of Spain, as when by that means they took before Rochelle the earl of Pembroke, son-in-law to Edward the third, which lost unto the crown of England the greatest part of Aquitaine.

They have sundry times heretofore assayed to keep a navy royal of their own ships appertaining to the king; but they have ever failed in it. Some say, that in all their coasts from Bayonne to Calais they have not past two or three good ports for receiving or keeping a navy, namely, the isles of Oleron, Brest and St. Malo; but these two latter are dangerous also, in regard of many hidden rocks lying all along the coast of Bretagne. Mons. de Sully hath sundry times told me, that if he were admiral of France, he would be in hand with setting up of a navy royal; which, if they had once done, they might easily prove ill neighbours to Great Britain. But till that
happen,

appen, the controversy will be, what we may conquer on them, not what they might get upon us.

Admiralty.

And for Monsieur de Sully's being admiral, there is no great fear, the king having designed that office for his bastard son the Chevalier de Vendosme. The office of admiralty is parted among divers persons; whereas the admiralty of France had antiently jurisdiction only upon the coast of Normandy and Picardy, and his two courts are at the table of marble at Paris for Picardy, and another at Rouen for Normandy, the appeals from the which resort to either of those parliaments. There is now annexed to it (by a several patent) the admiralty of Bretagne, and so doth Monsieur d'Amville hold it at this day. The admiralty of Guyenne Monsieur de Bassillon hath; and for the Levant seas the chief commander is the general of the gallics, who is now one of the house of Gondi: and this is the only force pertaining properly to the king, which consisteth of some ten or twelve gallics. But touching ships, Monsieur de Guise is admiral of Provence, which place is annexed to his government.

Of the riches of France.

THE marks and demonstrations of their wealth are chiefly to be seen in three places: 1. In the country. 2. Abroad in their cities, and 3. In their court. Now of each in their order.

Riches

430 *Sir George Carew's Relation of the*
Riches of the Country.

1. The fertility of the soil is so great, as besides it furnisheth abundantly to the inhabitants all necessary commodities for the use of man's life, it tereth also to strangers so great quantity of the same as without labouring in any mines of their (whereof men are of opinion it hath good store in recompence of the said commodities uttered, and draw into their country greater store of silver gold, than cometh into any region in Christend comparing quantity for quantity. For (besides that, which they draw for their wines, prunewood and salt, linnen and such like from Great Britain and other northern regions) their corn alone robbeth all Spain of their silver gold, that is brought thither out of their Indies insomuch that at this present it is held, that there is far greater quantity (this king told me it is after the proportion of six to one) of the double and pistolets of Spain, in France, than in Spain itself. Of which one somewhat sharply giveth semblance of reason, That as Spain is the fount from whence all these metals flow abroad into all parts of Europe; so it happeneth according to natural experience, that there is ever more water in the beds of rivers far from the fountain or source than at the well-spring itself. Accordingly I have heard it reported by some of our Spanish merchants that, after the arrival of the Indian fleets, the treasure they bring is suddenly dispersed, and most of it carried into France in lieu of the corn, which has been brought thence.

Besides the inhabitants of France near unto the borders of Spain (being more industrious and more given to labour than the Spaniards) resort in great numbers at certain times yearly into Spain, for a patch of matters of agriculture, and return
 etc

stored with great quantity of Spanish coin. Indeed this people is of his own disposition active and industrious ; and the biting taxes and heavy impositions, which are laid on them, do enforce them to be at no time idle, but search all the corners of their wit to make the earth yield as much fruit as possibly it can, and then not to consume the fruit thereof themselves, but to make money thereof to pay the king's and their landlord's duties. By which means of industrious labouring, and careful sparing, their land must grow exceeding rich. With us in this behalf, I take it to be contrary ; for our husbandmen consumeth more himself, and yet draweth not out of the earth so much as the peasant doth there. Add hereunto, that the present king is such a manager, as the like hath not been seen in many ages ; for he is as curious and vigilant in every corner of his large territories to turn them to the best commodity, as any householder can be, or any farmer in his particular house or farm. So as besides the antient commodities of this realm, before signified, he is in hand with erecting sundry new ; as for example, he hath caused most of the gentlemen and possessioners of his realm, to plant mulberry-trees in their grounds for the nourishing of silk-worms ; and told me he hoped to make his realm the staple for all the silk, that should be worn in all these northern parts of Europe, both in his own country and likewise in your majesty's dominions, the Low Countries, Denmark, and other regions adjacent to the Baltick Sea. But some Italians of good judgment, with whom I have conferred touching this point, have told me, that in the end all this will come to nothing, for that silk-worms here cannot prosper, the air of the country being too cold for them ; so that if they die not, yet the stuff, which they shall produce, will never be good. But they say, that the

Genoese bought of the raw filk, which the **Hollan-** ders brought out of India, and therefore wrought better fattens and velvets than they could make out of the filk growing in Italy. He is also in hand with draining of marshes every where in his country; and especially about the isles of Rets in Provence, where he pretendeth to have sugars made to serve his realm: and likewise he is about to have all sorts of fine linnen made in sundry places of France, that his subjects may have that at home, which they would fetch out of the Low Countries. As for woollen cloth, they have been long in hand therewithal, and striven to have no need of ours. Further he is very busy about cutting new beds for the waters to run from one great river to another, as from Loire to Seine, from Rhosne to Seine; and there hath been a speech of making a canal from the Garonne, to Rhine, which by Agde runneth into the Mediterranean sea. But now the conceit is quite over; and Monsieur de Sully talketh of joining Maine and the Mose, and so to convey merchandise from Holland to Marseilles by fresh water all along, without going upon sea. If but part of these designs be effected it will be a great enriching to his people and country.

Riches in Cities.

2. For, to come to the second point, the riches of towns is caused rather by the commodiousness than fertility of the soil adjacent; and therefore I have heard some make this observation, that the most barren situations in Europe yield the best towns; as for example, Venice in Italy is the richest, though it be placed in the middle of the sea. So is Nurenberg in Germany, though it be in a sandy and very barren territory: But they are full of artificers, whereof they have in the German tongue a proverb, That the Nuren-
bergers

bergers hands deceive all lands. Padua and Sienna in Italy are held to be placed in the most fertile soils of all that region ; yet they approach nothing to the riches of Genoa, Milan or Florence, which are full of artificers and traffickers. The like may be said of London, Norwich and Bristol in England, of Antwerp heretofore, and now of Amsterdam in the Low Countries. Seeing then traffick and artificers are the chiefest things, that enrich towns ; for the first, the commodities of the sea, and the navigableness of their great rivers in France must needs procure that unto them ; especially having commodities growing at home to answer, with overplus, the value of foreign commodities brought in. And for the second, I mean artificers, their many universities, which draw (besides the domestical students) great multitudes of strangers unto them, and the thoroughfare of English, Germans, Spaniards, Italians must also ever keep those artificers on work ; especially the Frenchmen being generally neat and nimble above all manner of manufacturers. It is undoubtedly a great mass of money, which those of our country, that come to trade here, bring, and spend in this country, more than the French send among us : so do the Spaniards, Germans, and Poles also ; but the Italians get upon them concerning this point. This natural or casual advantage this king encreaseth also with great art, first in being careful to set up all kind of manufactures ; and then in allotting and proportioning them to those places, where they may be best made and vented. Secondly, in reaching by his impositions all sorts of people, as well home-born as strangers, in the wine, salt, woad, hay, and other things, which are spent in the cities. Insomuch as my steward told me, that of the necessaries spent in my family (though I had my salt, and many other provisions out of England).

F f

land) yet the king had daily, for his duties, as much as would serve to sustain two or three persons.

Touching the first, Paris alone may serve for an example of his industry, where he hath erected many of the most rich and substantial manufactures, and by great wages drawn thither men skilful and expert in the same, accommodating, and fitting them also with mansions, and habitations, as 'one, who means to tie them there fast. In his new buildings at the Louvre, the first places finished were delivered to some Netherlanders, who work in haute-lice with such curiousness, as every Flemish ell of that tapestry amounteth to sixteen crowns, though it hath neither silver nor gold in it; and at that price some cardinals and other princes of Italy cause suits thereof to be made for them. Besides, at the same place are wrought sundry sorts of rich carpets made all of silk, after the fashion of those of Persia. At another place called the Gobelins, there is other tapestry wrought of rich stuff, and quality, most of it consisting of gold threads, which I have not seen any where but there; and likewise other ordinary suits of tapestry of all sorts, of the price and goodness, that they are made in the Low Countries. A third notable great building he hath erected in the same town, where all sorts of velvets, sattins, tafeties, and figured works of all kinds, and some with threads of gold in them, are made.

By these means, and others, Paris is grown to that riches, as a man of good quality and good understanding affirmed unto me, that there were above five hundred families in the same, which were served all in silver vessels. Lyons, which heretofore hath been the next town to this in reputation of riches, is reported to be decayed, so as it is not so rich by the one half, as it was twenty years past. But thereunto the king made me this answer, that
though

though the riches thereof be not so great as it was, yet is it more permanent and stable, being now in the hands of the French bankers; whereas in times past it was in the hands of Italians: but the most part of the other towns are much encreased by the long, politic, and peaceable government of this king, and would have been much more, were it not that all offices being vendible in this kingdom, the merchants employ their money rather in buying offices than in exercising traffick, because officers wives go before merchants wives.

Riches in Court.

In the court the riches partly appeareth in the sumptuousness of the attire and furniture for the houses, and persons of the lords and ladies of the same. Upon ordinary days their apparel is not so costly as that, which is usually worn in the court of England; but in their magnificences, or days of parade, they make more shew of riches than we do, in the multitude of their pearls, stones, broderies, and such like; as also for their household furniture, theirs, I take it, exceedeth ours both in richness, and commodiousness, but not their tapestry. But their chiefest splendor is in the things appertaining to the king himself; as in the number of his guards and men of war, which attend him, (wherein he exceedeth all the other courts in Christendom) in the many pensions, which he really payeth, amounting to more than a million of crowns yearly; in the magnificence of his buildings, which are many, for the king told me, he fortified twenty-eight places upon his frontiers, besides his buildings at Paris, St. Germain, Fontainebleau, Monceaux, and other places very huge and stately; but chiefly in the great reserve, which (all charges defrayed) he

436 *Sir George Carew's Relation of the*

puts up every year in his Bastille. So as though he came to a broken state, and much indebted, yet in few years he hath gathered more treasure than perchance any other king of Europe possesseth at this day; whereof also he ceaseth not to vaunt, when he walketh in his garden between the arsenal and the Bastille, saying, That none other hath such an alley to walk in, having at the one end thereof armour for 40,000 men ready prepared; and at the other end money to pay them, even to the end of a long war.

King's Revenues.

Touching his own revenues, he may make them as great as he list, at least of all the wealth, which is any way stirring in the kingdom; for by his simple edict or proclamation, without assembly of his three states, he may make what levies or impositions he pleaseth; a point begun to be gained in the time of Lewis XI. and since increased by his successors. Before that time it seemeth to have been otherwise, as it is yet in England, Spain, Germany, and all other ancient kingdoms, and which in continuance of time may prove the ruin of this, as I shall shew anon. Now albeit these levies run chiefly upon the husbandman, and that the townsman is free of many things, the ecclesiastical person, the gentleman, the officers of justice and receipt, and the stranger shall be free altogether; yet by a crooked measure this king reacheth every one of them, and draweth great profits from them all.

Church-livings.

For first, into church-livings there is a great breach made, by the annates and decimes, which by the concord as made by the pope Leo the tenth,

State of France under King Henry IV. 437

tenth, and Francis the first, are shared between the pope and the king (contrary to the sanction pragmatic made by St. Lewis) the annates going to the Pope, and the decimes or tenths to the king. Next in all assemblies of the clergy, they grant great sums unto him ; lest abandoning the protection of them, the Protestants should forbear to pay their tythes unto the Roman clergy, and perchance work worse, and more dangerous effects.

Abbeys.

Thirdly, having by the concord, as aforesaid, the nomination to all bishopricks, and abbeys of the realm ; most of the abbeys he disposeth unto temporal men absolutely, as rewards for their service, making them ; as they term it, œconomists of all the revenues of them, or else appointing a kind of prior over them, which they call a custodenos, with some small allowance to the monks,

Bishopricks.

And as for the bishopricks, he nominateth very few persons unto them, from whom he draweth not a great pension, sometimes to the value of half the bishoprick.

Nobility and Gentry.

Touching the nobility and gentry, they are free from all impositions and taxes, when they manure and inhabit their own possessions ; but giving many of them pensions, he allureth all of them generally, in hope of that good fortune, to be followers of the court. Then, to make money for their own expences there, they let out their lands

438 *Sir George Carew's Relation of the*
to farmers ; and upon those he maketh his levies
as well as upon the ordinary husbandman, who rati-
ably give to the nobility so much the lesser rent for
them.

Officers of justice, and others.

The officers of justice, receipts, *la police*, and others,
as notaries, tabellions, &c. he reacheth in this sort,
that he selleth all their offices at a very 'high rate
unto them, namely for one life, at fourteen or fifteen
years purchase ; and when that is done, if they thrive
by them, it is lawful for others, who will outbid them
to a certain rate, (which they call doublements and tierce-
ments, the particulars are too long to be here expressed)
to get the said offices or farms from them ; the which
they do *la chandelle esteinte*, that is at a set time,
that the bidders or partisans, as they call them, come
before the council, and there a little end of a wax
candle is set a burning, and he, who offereth most
before the same candle's end be burnt out, goeth a-
way with the office. And this is reckoned one of
the clearest and most assured revenues of his crown.

Townsmen.

The townsman he reacheth particularly by
loans, and some by levies ; and both him and the
stranger by his impositions and gabells, which are
very thick and biting ; as for example, so much
salt as served my house for one whole year, costing
but 40 s. in England, would have cost there 30 l.
sterling. A cup of Orleans wine, before it be bought
by the stranger out of the tavern in Paris, payeth ten
or twelve several duties to the king, as one expert in
those matters affirmed, reckoning up also all the par-
ticularities thereof. And not only all kind of ne-
cessaries

cessaries for man's food and raiment, coming into town, pay these impositions to the king; but abroad in the country also, they levy to his use one kind of imposition upon cloven footed beasts, and another upon whole or round footed, besides many other; many of which have given in times of necessity, during the sharp war they had with other nations, out of the peoples voluntary proneness to supply their king's wants in those times; and though now those necessities be past, yet those old payments still continue, and many more new are every day devised. By all which scraping and wringing, it is held, he gathereth yearly about fourteen millions of crowns, or twelve clearly; besides the nonvalents, as Mons. Sully told me, may amount to four or five millions of pounds sterling. His reserve upon all which hath hitherto not reached a million. But the wars in the Low Countries ceasing, and those leaguers dying, whom he was fain to buy in with great pensions, and by buying in his domain, which hath been in former time engaged for debt (of which Mons. Sully told me he had discharged ten millions of crowns *sans bourse delier*) it is thought his reserve will amount well nigh to two millions of crowns, or more. His treasure is held at this time to be between four and five millions of crowns.

Generally the chief riches of France is held to be in the hands of the king, and of the inhabitants of Paris, and of the financiers or exchequermen, whom therefore the king wringeth like sponges, and ransometh every three or four year, imputing debts unto them by certain selected commissioners, which they call *la chambre ardente*. As for the clergyman, the gentleman, and the merchant, they live not so wealthily at this day, as their predecessors have done.

Of the politic orders in France.

THIS matter may receive a two-fold consideration, either concerning those anciently appointed and established for the main government of the realm ; or certain points, which this king useth for the stretching and assuring of his own authority and power.

Touching the first, they are so plentifully to be seen in sundry printed collections, as to handle that point in this short relation, were but loss of time. Only this I will say of them in general, having carefully and diligently read the same in some of their best reputed authors, I find them the most plain particular prudent ordinances, that I have yet met withal, as well for justice, *la police*, for ordering the king's court, his military, his marine affairs, the revenue of his crown ; as also all other things necessary to be observed in a commonwealth. And I suppose, that in many things we might better fetch our patterns in these points out of France, and with more profit, than we do the fashion of our apparel. But in them there is one thing much amiss, namely, that the comments upon those constitutions in very many places, and those of the best, say, *Ceci ne s'observe plus en France aujourd'hui*, This is no more observed in France at this day.

Concerning the second, Those cauteles and subtilties of the king's consist, 1. In according the factions of religion. 2. In repressing and supplanting the power of the great houses, that have been factious, and have had great sway heretofore. 3. In limiting the authority and commandment of governors of provinces. 4. In making the inferior nobility obsequious unto him. 5. In keeping the common people

ple in wealth or weaknes, in such sort as he may draw most profit from them, and be in least danger of any tumults to be raised by them. Of each of these in order.

Religion.

In according the factions of religion, or at least the containing of them in peace the one with the other, this king hath shewed himself much more wary and heedful than sundry of his predecessors. The which altho' it were no difficult matter for him to perform (seeing, of natural consequence, those know ever best how to stop disorders, who have been the chief workers of them) yet he ceaseth not to vaunt and glory much in his faculty and dexterity that way; and to that purpose, he told me once, that for containing subjects of differing religion in peace and unity, *il pouvoit faire leçon a tous les autres Roys*, viz. He might read lecture to all other princes. But yet for all that, the body of those of the reformed religion is a great thorn in his foot, being not only constrained to tolerate them as a different regiment from the rest of his realm, but to give fortresses into their hands also, and to pay them for keeping them against himself. Wherefore being desirous to rid himself of this incumber, and knowing that by forcible means he cannot atchieve it, (for that would actuate what other humours are unfound in the body of his whole realm, and add strength to the protestants, who in troublesome times have ever most encreased) he followeth the course of the fable, where it is said, That Boreas and Phœbus laid a wager, who should soonest get a wayfarer's cloke from him; Boreas with his stiff blasts making the wayfarer to wrap himself fast therein; but Phœbus, with his gentle hot beams, set him in such a sweat, as, for his own ease, he was
fain

fain to throw that from him : So this king, by alluring those, who are most eminent amongst the Protestants, either for learning, or military, or civil ableness, by pensions ; by debarring all of that profession from employments, which he may bestow upon others ; and by labouring an union, or at least a common liturgy, which might serve both sides, to content the generality, seeketh gently to supplant them. In the mean time, to content them, he observeth his edict towards them (the breaking of others causing so much trouble in his predecessors times) allowing them in certain places free exercise of their religion ; and that, without proceeding to any forceable means, their complaints may be quietly heard, and gravely ordered by the advice of his council, either to the Protestant contentment, or at least without driving them into desperation, he hath ever residing at his court, two agents for those of the religion, so to stop all inconveniencies in the first beginning.

Cautionary towns paid their garrisons by the King.

Further, he alloweth them certain places of assistance, to the number of eighty or thereabouts, where they may save themselves upon any sudden uproar ; and also payeth certain garrisons, which are kept in each of them, bestowing to that end, and in pensions to particular men of the religion, about 120,000 crowns yearly. The pretence whereof in part is, That he will have all Protestants to pay their tythes, and other ecclesiastical duties, to the Romish prelates and curates. To countervail the which, the king out of his own coffers furnisheth the foresaid sums. And to save himself from expence in that behalf, draweth a great sum from the Romish clergy out of their assembly by way of benevolence.

Why

Why the Protestant religion increaseth not in Spain as in France.

And here perchance it is not amiss to consider how it comes to pass, that in Spain the Protestant religion hath made no progress at all; though in the year 1558 and 1559, when it began to be spread in France, and that some persons of quality and worth were there executed by fire for the same, there were also men of as great quality, and as many in number, in like sort, for the same cause executed in Spain. Talking with Monsr. de Villeroy about this point, he ascribed the cause thereof to the minority of their king, which as it is not untrue, so some adduce a more near cause of this effect, saying, That there were no executions done in Spain, but by course of justice solemnly; whereas in France, those of the Romish church stirred up the common people (contrary to the king's edict) in disordered manner, to offer violence, and commit massacre upon the Protestants, who (keeping no order nor measure) drove the Protestants to take arms for their natural and necessary defence. And to fortify this reason of theirs, they further say, that the like hath happened in England, where punishments inflicted upon Papists being always done by course of justice, without any popular violence, hath preserved our realm from being driven to such a toleration of the Romish religion, as France hath been of the reformed. But things being come there to that pass that they are at, before this king's time, he seemeth, in the managing of this point, a greater politic, than any of his late predecessors; for at this day the Protestant faction, or party, is held to be *la plus prompt*, though not the *plus puissante*; and one advantage is ascribed to it more than to the Roman,

Roman, namely, in case they be put again to take arms for their defence, they are likely to be mightily encreased by those, who have been formerly nourished upon booties and spoils of the war, who now live idly, and do but expect an occasion to set themselves on work again. And because the riches and wealth of that realm is in their hands, which make profession of the Romish religion; those needy and ravenous people will undoubtedly set upon these, where there is most to be gotten. Further, the best captains of this realm, now living, are said to be of the Protestant party, as Les Diguieres, Bouillon, Sully, La Force, and others; and generally the inferior people, (especially the handicraftsmen, who get their living by their daily labour) are the more affected to that, because, on the reformed side, they are not troubled with so many holy-days, wherein those, that would fain work, are not permitted to do it; and yet on the other side, they are tied to many more payments to the clergy, in holy bread, candles, and many other such fantastical duties. The number of the Protestant communicants is held to exceed 100,000, of which there are above 6000 gentlemen. Their greatest strength is beyond the river of Loire in Poictou, Guienne, and Languedoc. And yet they are meetly well sprinkled on this side also: For in the Isle of France, Picardy, and Champagne, there are about eighty-eight churches, of which that of Charenton alone hath sometimes eight or ten thousand communicants, indeed not of the resiants only, but of those, whom their business draweth to the court, or to Paris. In Dauphiné also under Mr. Les Diguieres's government, they are of good strength. The whole number of the churches throughout the realm is held to amount to 740.

Though

Though the king use many artifices to dissolve this body, it will not so easily be done; for that by reason of those fortresses and companies, which they hold, many men of quality are interested in profit in the conservation of it. And if he or his successors should attempt it by force, they seem to be generally determined to cantonize themselves in Guienne, abandoning their goods and possessions in other provinces, and by way of reprisal to seize themselves of so much other goods and lands of the Romanists there, as may be equivalent to that which they have left in other places. Among themselves they yet agree reasonably well, though of late there hath been some beginning of contention among them, for authority and sway in the consistories, between the ministers and the lay elders.

Touching the opinions about religion in general, they seem in this country to be of three sorts, 1. Those adhering altogether to the church of Rome, as the old clergy. 2. Those directly opposite against it, as the reformed party. 3. And those, who would have a reconciliation of the one and the other, thinking there are many things amiss, which want reformation both in doctrine and government in the papacy; but that the Protestants have not, in their violent courses, taken the best way to that reformation, having, among the bad things, swept out, in heat and lust, many good things also. The president De Thou, and many of their learned lawyers, are held to be of this opinion.

Touching the king himself, though he seeks, by all the devices he can, to draw the faction of the Jesuits to depend on him; yet the Roman faction in general have their main aspect to Spain, as the country, where no other religion is tolerated; and especially our English Romanists speak of this king as of a dissembler, and one, who inwardly in his
heart

heart is of no religion at all. And his favouring of the Jesuits makes the other ecclesiastical old orders more averse from him, those supplanting them in their profit and credit; and therefore in time are like to grow as hateful to them, as the Hugonots themselves. But touching the Protestants, *Monsieur Du Plessis* hath been divers times in hand with me, to have some overture made to your Majesty to endeavour to unite the reformed churches in one profession. And your Majesty being the protector thereof, it would add safety to them, and honour and power to your own person. And this third faction, which ariseth, acknowledgeth the reformation of the church of England to approach nearest unto the form of the primitive church, of any that hath hitherto been made.

2. *Suppression of potent houses.*

Concerning the suppressing and supplanting of the power of great houses, which have been heretofore factious. The most potent at this day are three, namely, of Bourbon, of Lorraine, and of Montmorency; of which that of Bourbon may chance to debate the succession, with seeking to dismember the present dominions of his crown. That of Lorraine, upon any occasion offered, is like enough to undertake the one or the other. That of Montmorency, having no colour of pretence to the succession, is only capable of enterprising in the latter kind.

Bourbon.

In the house of Bourbon, and princes of the blood, besides the king's children (which are yet very young) the prince of Condé and count Soissons are only considerable.

Prince of Condé.

For the prince of Condé having many imperfections natural, as want of hearing, together with weakness of speech and understanding, and withal, being without hope of issue, is not likely to draw any great dependancies to him. Again, the house of Montpensier being lately extinguished, and those of Courtney poor and frustrated in their suit for being acknowledged princes of the blood, it seems there is no great fear to be had of any dangerous effects that way.

Condé.

Touching the prince of Condé, his quality of first prince of the blood, and being the heir of a father and grandfather, who were the heads, and therefore supporters of the Protestant faction; having also a comely countenance, and able body, and competent years to undertake any great action, when this king (in probability) shall leave his realm to a young Dauphin; and lastly, his poverty, and want of means breeding continual diseases and envies in him, when he compareth himself to those that are behind him in rank, and yet before him in wealth, and power of commanding; these causes are like enough, I say, to make him hazard the amendment of his estate by fishing in troubled waters, when opportunity shall present itself to that end. The which this king considering, keepeth (as much as he can) all disadvantages against him on foot, and likewise supplanteth him from all means of riches and power. His disadvantages are many, insomuch, as for these ten years he hath had more heart-breaking crosses, than any young prince in
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Christendom, being a great while honoured as the immediate successor to the crown ; and now the longer he liveth, the more decreasing in honour and power. For first his birth hath many exceptions against it, the king having reproached it bitterly to his teeth, that he was in doubt, whether he was his kinsman or not ; and that by his means, and favour only, he came to be declared a prince of the blood. And the count Soissons still affirming among his familiars, that he is not his brother's son, but bastard of that page, who was called in question for poisoning of Henry the late prince of Condé ; and whether the process of that crime be abolished, or still of record, is doubtfully spoken of ; the count Soissons still pretending, that he is able to produce that, or at least, authentical copies thereof, when time shall serve.

Secondly, His education hath been so disordered, and ignoble, as he is noted for one of the most dissolute young men of France, both for lasciviousness in women's matters, and the disease accompanying the same ; and besides for delighting in drinking of wine, and frequenting taverns to that end among base company.

Thirdly, being before the king's marriage heir apparent to the crown, and then carefully instructed in points of popish religion, (insomuch that there was a speech a while, that he should have been brought up at Rome) he hath thereout taken such a fashion, that, till of very late time, he was one of the most pertinacious and bitter ergoters against the points and persons of those of the reformed religion, that was to be found ; which this king liked very well, as being the means to bar him of those dependencies, which, by the contrary course, his father and grandfather had gotten among the nobility of France ; and noteth, and observeth, that

as he groweth in years, he leaveth that course, and carrieth himself more mildly and temperately towards him. Wherefore the king doubteth, that from henceforth he may grow into strength, and authority, and will not suffer him to live in his government of Guienne, nor in any other remote place from the court ; so that the prince complains, that neither the king gives him means to live in court, according to his rank, and quality, nor suffers him to hide his poverty by living from it.

And whereas the prince had a great desire to travel about two years past into Italy ; to have bettered his knowledge, and experience, and to have dissembled his poverty by living as a passenger ; though the king had once given his consent thereunto, yet soon after he recalled it, doubting (as was said) that the prince might have been wrought upon by the Spanish faction in Italy ; which discontented the prince exceedingly much. Being crossed there, he then sought to amend his estate, and give himself contentment by marriage, and was likely to have obtained that of Madame de Mercœur (being for riches the second of France, next to that of Madam de Montpensier) had not the king, by a kind of violent, and sovereign proceeding, snatched her from the prince ; and, to the great discontentment of the lady herself, and of all her friends, forced her to marry his bastard of Vendôme. Since that he hath also, with great bitterness, crossed his marriage with Madame de Mayenne, and two others, Madame d'Aumale, and de Chemilly. He hath, at last, not only permitted, but even thrust him unto that of Madame de Montmorency, but with such jealousies, scandals, and indignities, as it is doubtful, whether that matter will end in a tragedy or a comedy.

This young prince of Condé is so overawed, as he durst not render those visits, which I made him during my service there ; for though he sought it, yet could not he obtain leave to do that, which he first excused to me by intermediate persons, and after by his own mouth. He professeth a great respect to to your majesty, and likewise a great care in keeping himself in good predicament with the English, of which one argument is, that I moving him of a debt of 1000 crowns lent his father by the earl of Leicester, he readily promised payment thereof, as soon as his means would serve for it ; though otherwise he disclaimed paying any of the debts due by his father to the French.

Soissons.

Touching the count of Soissons, he is the only prince capable of the succession of the Crown, and of able parts of his own person, whose birth is no way called in question : For as there are exceptions against his nephew of Condé, so against the Dauphin, and all the queen's children, there may be objected, not only the king's first marriage with Queen Margaret, (which remains still good, except there be admitted power in the pope, to dispence with, and order such matters as he fancieth ;) but likewise the contract of marriage, which he made with the marquess of Verneuil ; and tho' she seemed to surrender the same (induced by the deceitful and menacing promises of the king) yet neither in terms of law and justice can the mother's surrendering of the instrument in writing prejudice her issue in their right, which they had formerly gotten : And besides her continual constant profession, that she never intended to live with this king as his concubine, but as his wife (and accordingly suffereth him not now to have any farther use of her body) and the queen's
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eager and bitter opposition against her in that respect, do, as it were by a continual claim, keep this title in life and vigour. Upon these grounds the count is said to have, long since, made a stock of 100,000 crowns, which he keepeth still, and augmenteth daily ; by means whereof, upon the king's death, to make way to his designs and pretensions. His person also is much considerable for the maturity of his years, and his experience in matters both military and civil, during the passed troubles. Besides his revenues are good and plentiful, having many goodly possessions in sundry parts of the world abroad : In Paris the fairest house next to the king's ; and in court, the office of great master, whereby he commands all the domestical officers, and entertaineth at his table all the nobility either of France, or of strange countries, that have occasion to follow this court ; means of drawing great dependencies, if he used them carefully. To him the king hath given also great provocation of eager discontentment. First, in supporting the duke of Sully against him ; and secondly, in wresting from his son Monsf. de Montpensier's daughter, to place her with the duke of Orleans, though there had first passed solemn contracts between the count and Monsf. de Montpensier, for matching her with Monsf. de Soissons's son. And accordingly he seeketh also to weaken the count in means and power. For first, whereas governments of provinces have been always disposed to princes of the blood, he hath given the name of governour to this count of that of Dauphiné, as he hath also of Guienne to the prince of Condé ; but he suffereth neither of them to go into their provinces. But to this count, Monsf. de Lesdiguières is lieutenant, who, besides that he is opposite to him in religion, is also of that power and credit there, that if the count should come thither in person,

son, yet would Lesdiguières sway all matters after his own pleasure.

Secondly, The king estrangeth the count from dealing in matters of state, or meddling with the important affairs of the realm; so as having been out-faced by de Sully a long time in that kind, and crossed by him in other suits, and purchases, with which he hath been in hand, he hath lived for the most part retired at his own house.

Thirdly, In marriages, and otherwise, the king seeketh to weaken his means of profit as much as he may, and, as they say, would willingly his cousins had no other means or maintenance, but the pensions, which they draw from him, which he giveth not for their good, but to govern and command them the more easily. And fourthly, he keepeth on foot animosities between this prince, and those of the house of Guise, who speaketh despisingly each of other.

Lorrain.

Touching the house of Lorrain, and of Guise, there are many causes, which feed the king's suspicion of them. First, the great dependencies, which the fathers and grandfathers have had in this realm; which joined to the experience of the rather decrepit, than old duke of Mayenne, and to the hardy and stirring disposition of his two sons, d'Esquillon and de Sommerive, and the four brothers of Guise, all six able bodies, and suitable minds, and which are indeed the lustre and honour of that court; adding likewise their present poverty, the want of means, either to satisfy their own desires, or to content their followers, do all seem to attend an occasion again of fishing in troubled waters. They are redoubtable also to the king for the province, whereof the duke
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of Guise is governor, whereunto the house of Lorraine pretendeth title; and therefore Monf. de Guise once told me, that this king had said to him, that in trusting him with the government of Provence, he committed a purse to a thief. And albeit the king taketh that order in that province, as he doth in others, that the governors of places depend immediately upon himself; yet the noble and generous carriage of the duke of Guise makes him so beloved of all the nobility, and others there, as his party in that country is supposed to be stronger than that of the king's.

Thirdly, This house is much suspected by this misdoubting king, in regard of the credit and favour, which it hath had in Rome and Spain; but chiefly (if I do not much deceive myself) since your Majesty came to the crown of these two islands is his suspicion encreased, concerning their new consanguinity with the crown of England, and their ancient pretensions from Charlemagne to the crown of France; so that this house is as *Gladius Delpibicus*, apt to cut on both sides.

The means, which the king useth against them, are these: First, To have them live in court; so they practise not in other places; and there by play, and other unthriftiness, they grow poor.

Secondly, he keepeth the animosities between them and the house of Bourbon still on foot; and for that cause, he stoppeth the marriage of the prince of Condé and the duke of Mayenne's daughter, telling him in plain terms, he would not have him to match with his enemies. Thirdly, He plucketh from them the fairest feathers they have. And therefore, whereas the marriage of Madame de Mercoeur, being of that house, might have either enriched Monf. de Guise himself, or joined some potent friend to the same, the king by sovereign hand took her from

them all, and placed her with his bastard son Mons. de Vendosme. Fourthly, In the quarrel, which the Duke d'Esquillon had against Balagny, he sought to breed a heart-burning in all the gentry of France against those princes of Lorraine. But all these causes seem to be of no great efficacy: For the supplanting of them in wealth taketh not away their dependencies from the realm, or their expectation of aid from abroad; seeing that it was not the enriching of many, but the cause of religion, that imposed this greatness upon them. And the keeping of animosities on foot between the princes of the blood and them, or between them and the ordinary gentry, is means rather to stir civil wars than stop them. These courses destroy not their courage, but whet it rather in eagerness towards the king, who is perpetually snarling at them. And it is an old rule that *scietes* and *mijeri* are dangerous, if they be provoked.

To speak of the particular worth of these Princes of the house of Guise. Mons. de Mayenne is generally esteemed to be one of the best captains, and wisest statesmen, that this day liveth; yet there want not others, who censure him to have been more fortunate in having good cards dealt him, than able or prudent in playing well his game. For first, a strong and well complexioned body, by intemperance, he brought to be decrepit soon after forty years of age. For his state of wealth, though he be somewhat behind-hand, being left well by his father, and having increased it by a match with an inheretrix; yet it is not to be imputed to him, considering the great actions, through which he hath run. But in all his exploits of war, especially against the king, while he was king of Navarre, and since of Arques and Ivry, he was ever shamefully foiled, though the strength of his armies were sometimes double and treble

treble to those of his adversaries. In his treaty of composition, which he made with this king, he was so irresolute, that at last he accepted much worse conditions than those, which were offered him at the first. For if he had followed Villeroy's counsel, he might have had Burgundy in sovereignty, and remained the head of the Catholic party. It was imputed to him also, that himself was the chiefest means of crossing the marriage between his nephew the duke of Guise and the Infanta, out of envy and jealousy. Being young, in the siege of Poitiers, he carried himself nobly; but that was in his brother's the late duke of Guise's company: alone he never prospered well. But his fortune or happiness appeared in this, that all the fruit of his brother's labours and profits came to him, being by that means chief of a party in that realm, which was much more potent than that, which depended on the king. And besides that, he is esteemed a man so little dangerous, as having kept that rule and coil in France, which is known, he is suffered to run on in a peaceable old age, whereof perchance there is hardly to be found an example in any histories.

Duke de Guise.

Among the other six young ones, men attribute generally most to the duke of Guise himself, as being wary and advised. It is very much suspected, that he hath married the marquess of Verneuil, who being rich, may furnish him with money to spend during this king's life; and, if he over-live, is like to be the fittest instrument to promote the young Verneuil's right (if he hath any.) And some think the queen is contented, and acquainted with it, upon some counter designs and considerations. Howsoever, if it be so, it is cleanly carried.

Upon the speech and conference, that I have had with most of them, I take the prince of Joinville to be the most capable of carrying through any great action with foresight, hardiness, and judgment. The duke d'Esguillon is also of a good sober and settled judgment, whereas I find Monsi. de Guise himself in many thing very windy. For the other three, the bishop of Rheimes, the Count de Sommerive, and the Chevalier de Guise, they attend *armis & amori*, and busy not themselves much in matters of state. This house hath the peculiar note with it, that strangers, who would be busy in France, are like to have their chief aspect placed upon the same, whether the storm blow from Great Britain, Spain, or Rome; for none of those may trust the house of Bourbon, for many very evident reasons, nor yet well that of Montmorency.

Montmorency.

The house of Montmorency hath a more stable and settled greatness, by his own possessions, governments, and alliances, than any of the other two: For this present constable hath more fair houses furnished and kept in reparation, than the king himself; and his lands and possessions are very answerable to the maintaining of those houses. He is also the most absolute commander in his government that is this day in France. His alliances also are very great, noble, and princely, having matched one of his daughters with the first prince of the blood; another with a king's son, the Count d'Auvergne; and the third with the duke of Ventadour, a peer of France, a man of great possessions, and the most before-hand of any of the ancient nobility of France. These alliances are so much the more considerable, for that the prince of Condé's government of
Guienne

Guienne is contiguous to that of the constable's in Languedoc ; that the duke of Ventadour is a man of very great possessions in both these governments ; and that the Count d'Auvergne's possessions lye that way also. And although he be kept in prison himself, yet must his inheritance come to his son, a young nobleman of great towardliness. Besides, the constable hath to his brother Mons. d'Amville, admiral of France ; but being without issue or reputation of worthiness, there is no great reckoning made of him ; and for his nephews in consanguinity, the dukes of Tremouille, and Bouillon, and the Count Chastillon ; and in affinity, the duke of Espernon, a man of the most dangerous head, and greatest means in all that country. And the possessions of all these lye either in Guienne, or near unto it. Also true it is, that this man, through his old age, is neither like to hold his greatness long, nor his son through his young age to come unto it. There is a note of this house, that they are all squint-eyed. The word of their arms is, *Dieu aide au premier Chrestien*. And the constable hath told me twice or thrice, that there were barons of Montmorency before there were kings of France. But the king told me, in a displeasing manner, talking with him once of the greatness of this family, that untill Henry the second's time, they were only gentlemen of seven or eight hundred pound land. The king hath given to this constable many causes of distaste : First, in recalling him from the managing of the greatest affairs of the state, which his predecessors were ever wont to have, though otherwise of less quality than this man. Secondly, in detaining the count of Auvergne, his son-in-law, so long in prison. And thirdly, there is a mutual pique between them, touching a marriage, which the king would have had between his daughter of Verneuil and the constable's only son,

son, to which the constable would not hearken, but placed him with the heir of the house of Chemilly. And it is doubted the king's proceeding with his daughter of Condé may prove a worse matter than any of the others.

And in these terms standeth the king with these three houses, which, in our age, have been only capable of making themselves heads of parties; for though there be many other great houses, yet have they sorted, and ranged themselves, in the past troubles, with one of these three: of which it is to be noted also, that the houses of Bourbon and Guise have made direct opposition against their kings. But that of Montmorency never sorted itself against the person of their kings, but served them always faithfully, even against their nearest kinsmen and friends, when they began any tumults.

III. *Limitation of power of Governors.*

Now concerning this king's limiting of the power and commandment of the governours of provinces in general; it is true, that it is not a matter begun by him; but yet things were come to that pass, when he came to the crown, as, if both his prudence and his fortune had not served to avoid inconveniencies, there were like to have been wrought very dangerous effects in his time. For as Hugh Capet, the first beginner of the family that now reigneth, thrust the issue of Charlemagne out of the kingdom, by complotting with the governors of provinces then in being, and promising them, that those governments, which each of them had for term of life only, should be given in fee-simple to them and their heirs: So this king being forced, at first, to compound with all those, who had been in the league, and to leave them in those governments, which they then

then held; the duke of Biron meant to have stretched the matter a little further, and to have made all those governments hereditary again, had not this king, by his quick and advised proceeding, in cutting off that dangerous head, and dispersing the rest; especially de Bouillon, and de Tremouille, clean dissipated and overthrown their plot, wherein his wisdom appeared; as likewise his fortune, in his long and peaceable reign since, whereby he had leisure to take away all hope from others of attempting the like: For those heads of the league wearing away by natural death in length of time, he hath, in the mean space, placed careful particular governors over towns and fortresses, depending merely upon himself, who, like the inferior orbs that the astronomers speak of, have their motions opposite to that of the *Primum Mobile* of the governors; whereby he keepeth his kingdom from combustion that way, and hath reduced it into so good an order, as he thereby stoppeth those governors, either from gathering over great power and authority for themselves, or calling in strangers to work any dangerous effects by their means.

IV. Inferior Nobility.

Touching the inferior nobility in general, consisting of Gentlemen of private families, or of great houses, who have but small means; he hath them much more obsequious to him than to any of his predecessors; and thereof his Majesty hath to myself both vaunted often, and shewed men the effects and tokens of it. The course, which he taketh therein, is this: That those, who are anywise eminent for military or civil ableness, he bindeth them to this obsequiousness, by giving them pensions, (of which there are a great number, and well paid,) so long as they

they continue in their dutifulness. But upon the least disobedience, they are sure to have their pensions stopt; which maketh them very careful, not to do any thing against his will, neither in great matters nor in small. And albeit this may seem to be a matter of great expence and charge; yet as the state of this country stands, it is a thing, which yieldeth rather profit than detriment to his coffers: For albeit, as hath been said before, all the nobility of this country be free from paying taxes, subsidies, or contributions for their lands or possessions, as long as they keep the same in their own hands; yet if they let them out unto farmers, the king taketh all his duties upon them, as well as if they pertained to roturiers or yeomen.

Now it followeth, that the gentlemen being naturally high-minded and presumptuous, nourish each of them particularly hopes, to attain unto those pensions, and other promotions in event. Wherefore they abandon their country habitations, and with two or three lackeys to attend them, follow the court. In the mean time their possessions remaining in the hands of their farmers, (who pay all taxes, and yield their landlords so much the less rent, and so much more to the king's revenues, as serveth to defray, with overplus, all the charges of pensions he giveth) upon the matter, out of the hopes of the one he payeth the pensions of the other. And some upon the desire of obtaining that, which they have not, and the rest upon fear of losing what they enjoy, do wholly so frame themselves to obey all the king's commandments and becks, as there is no schoolmaster, that hath his scholars in more awe, than this king hath these gentlemen aforesaid.

It is true, that, besides his pensions, he hath many other ways of rewarding his servants; as by bestowing the custody of abbeys, and other religious houses upon

upon them, (the clergy not gainfaying it, for fear of the reformed body of the Hugonots, and the pope being partly tied to it by the concordates made by between Leo the tenth, and Francis the first, for defeating the Pragmatic Sanction) and also by placing them in captainships and other places of command. But these permanent rewards are bestowed upon them, whose long and constant service hath given sufficient assurance, that there was no likelihood of changing their demeanor. As for offices of justice, or of his finances or receipts, neither to the one or the other giveth he any of them gratis, but selleth them at an extreme rate.

V. Common people.

Concerning the common people, they hold it for a true principle of state in France, that they must be kept low and out of heart by exactions and oppressions; for otherwise they would be apt to mutinies and rebellions: and accordingly they have at this day so many burthens on them, as keep them from all fancy of skipping or running; for they are scarce able to go or wag under them. It is true they are not of this king's imposition, but raised by his predecessors in times of necessary use; which he, upon pretence of paying his debts, keeps still on foot in time of ease and plenty. And herein were there not much to be imputed to him, were it not for his officers harsh proceeding, who press them in some places to pay beyond their ability, having not yet recovered the ruins of the last civil wars. On the contrary, he giveth them in three things contentment: The first, that by a careful observation of peace within his realm, he freeth them from the sudden mischiefs and distractions, which heretofore fell upon them. Secondly, He maketh great numbers

bers of them to get their livings in his buildings, and other great works of his. Thirdly, He bestoweth yearly 50,000 franks in mending of high-ways for their ease and commodity, without imposing any new taxes upon them for it; whereas heretofore, upon such pretexts, they were ever wont to make new levies. By these devices, and by sharing the booty gotten from the common people (which are mated and kept out of heart) with the clergy, nobility, gentry, and officers of justice, (who could not receive such great pensions and rewards from the king, except they were extorted from the people) it seemeth unto them, that they may safely take what they list: at least in time of peace they go on jollily with it; but yet not without danger, if the times should change, as in the next chapter of their dangers and disorders I will more at large specify.

Of their Disorders and Dangers.

EVERY well grounded kingdom and state ought to have (as some ancients tell us) six things, 1. Food sufficient for the sustenance of the people. 2. Handicrafts, for furnishing commodities pertaining to man's life. 3. Arms and forces, to repulse the injuries of strangers, and to constrain the obedience of the inhabitants to the magistrates and the laws. 4. Wealth in reserve for extraordinary occasions. 5. Religion, to dispose them to live peaceably, obediently, and innocently. 6. Jurisdiction, to punish the delinquents and offenders. By the equal and proportionable administration and dispensation of each of these, is the whole body kept in temper and harmony; which how it is observed in this kingdom, let us piece by piece consider.

Food.

Food.

Touching food, God hath blessed that people with a plentiful region, and fruitful soil. And for making it yield all possible increases, the industry of the inhabitants is very great ; as it is also in all handicrafts, as before I partly related : but the disorder consisteth in the unequal distribution of the soil, some having more than enough, for riot and excess ; and others not sufficient for their necessary use. The subjects of France are also, as it is in other kingdoms, composed of three sorts of persons : The ecclesiastical, who have the first rank, as those, who are dedicated to the service of God. The nobles, who are selected for the service of the king and state ; and those have the fees and jurisdiction of the realm. And lastly, the people, under which are comprised the inhabitants of the country towns ; as merchants, artificers, and such like. The two first degrees have more than enough ; but the latter is so infinitely oppressed, as they have their mouths filled with imprecations and bitter complaints ; exclaiming, that their king seeketh not to be *Roy des François*, but *des Gueux*. And indeed both this king, and some of his predecessors, use over them an oppressing servitude, more after the manner of the petty pilling tyrants of Italy, than according to the greatness and magnanimity of their ancient princes, who governed their subjects in a mixt temperature betwixt fathers and lords. Hereof, at my first coming, I heard a tragical example happened in a village near unto Paris. The rigour of the king's officers, for levying of the king's taille, is so great, as, if they find no other stuff, in default of payment, they sell the doors, windows, and tiles of the houses. The fear whereof made a poor man, having wife and children,
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for payment of the king's duty, to sell one only cow, which served for their sustenance ; intending out of the price thereof to have bought them food, and paid the king's duty. At his return to his house he found his money to be all counterfeit ; so he was like to go to prison. His children call on him for food, which he had no means to give them ; which made him enter into that desperateness, as he first killed his own children, and then destroyed himself. Above all the provinces of France, that of Normandy is most oppressed ; and therefore the inhabitants, when they hear of any extraordinary tax at court, use to say, that some new imposition upon them must furnish the charge thereof. Mons^r de Sully, in way of vaunt, once told me, That his master levied more out of his only province of Normandy, than mine did out of all the countries under him. To which I answered, I took that to be the way to make his Majesty's subjects desirous to change their master, and those of my master to continue their old.

Names of Exactions, and the Reasons.

The names of their exactions are many, as taille, taillon, male, maletote, gabelle, traittes, creues, empruntes, and others. Three causes are said to have brought in this multitude of exactions. The first, the necessity of defraying the military charges for defence of the realm against the invasions of the English. Hence sprang the gabelles of salt, which those provinces, which were then subject to the English, are to this day freed of. The tailles, maletotes, and other contributions, in the time of Philip of Valois, John, Charles the fifth and sixth, and the taillon for the Gend'armerie in the time of Charles the seventh, levied first by commissioners

missioners, as matters temporary. But though the causes be long since ceased, yet the payments are still made in, and instead of commissions, permanent officers (called *Esleus* *) now deputed for the executing thereof.

The second was the encroaching of authority, and stretching of regal power by Lewis the eleventh, who vaunted, that he had put *la royauté hors de page*, the royalty out of pageship, in making levies by his simple edict or proclamation; whereas they were not to be granted, but *en les assemblées des trois estats*. After him followed Charles the eighth, whose time being not long, and that spent in exploits, partly profitable to the crown, as in annexing the duchy of Bretagne thereunto; partly glorious, as in conquering the kingdom of Naples; made the people to have the less sense of this extravagant power. Then succeeded Lewis the twelfth, who, in levies of his people, used that regard and moderation as the surname of *Pere du Peuple* hath been appropriated to him. But Francis the first, though otherwise a great king, finding himself in possession, of this power, stretched it for the raising legionary soldiers, and thereby encreased the taxes much. And he also began the sale of the offices. The third cause is ascribed to the marriage of Henry the second with a daughter of the house of Florence, her countrymen bringing in many new inventions of oppressions. This present king's necessity, at his coming unto the crown, caused him not only to continue the old, but to encrease them also; and it went on so much the more currently, in that he found Mons. de Sully a fit instrument for such purposes. But as these new

* These *Esleus*, who buy their place of the king, have more oft-times of the *Païsan* for their pains than the king's duty comes to, as it hath been told me by knowing-men in France.

exactions are said to have been brought in by the Florentines, so is that worthy of consideration, which the chief chronicler of that city saith, after he had reckoned up all kind of exactions there used, namely, *Giovanni Villani*, fol. 756. in these words, *O signori Fiorentini*, &c. (in English) O lords of Florence, how ill a providence is it to increase publick revenues out of the citizens substance, and poverty with strained impositions to furnish such foolish expences. Do ye not know, that where the sea is great, the tempest is great? And as the revenue encreaseth, ill husbandry is provided. Temper (most dear) these inordinate desires, and please God, and oppress not the innocent people.

Out of this disorder there ariseth this danger, that the husbandman, and the citizen or artificer, finding, that they have no interest in the conservation of a government, whereby they are oppressed, and that they receive of the monarchy nothing but *le fournir et le servir*, must needs be desirous of a change. The example whereof was seen in the citizen or townsman in the last troubles of the league, who, though religion was the first pretext, yet their adherence to the house of Guise grew (as some of their own writers note) out of a desire of liberty, having in their hands the hope of that especially, and in their hearts these commanders, who, as they supposed, would lead them by the shortest course thereunto. So as the councillors of that realm were astonished to see, how all the towns of France, like the bondmen of a gally, took the first occasion to abandon the cares of their duty and obedience; and it is to be doubted, that the contagion of the Low Country-states liberties may creep far in bodies, which are prepared and apt to receive it, as are the strong fortified towns of this kingdom. The husbandman hath yet had no
 oppor-

opportunity to discover his affection in this behalf: But it would soon be seen, which way they would bend, if any foreign enemy should again give their kings such overthrows, as they received at Cressly, Poictiers, or Agincourt. It is probable; that a little heedful care in the conquerors would unite their minds unto him, giving them hope of freeing them from the servitude. In the mean time it is evident, that the greatest part and the strongest of the inhabitants of this country remaineth discontented. Hence it comes, that in a country so populous, yet have their kings few soldiers, and in their need they are driven to use mercenaries; not daring to put arms into their subjects hands, whom they have so ill used. So that out of this immoderate exaction there ariseth a chain of disorders, consisting of many links to wantoness and riot in the commanding persons; discontentment and repining in the commanded; a great weakness in matters of force to resist invasions, or repress rebellions. And therefore the moderate course used heretofore in your majesty's kingdoms of England and Scotland is much more commendable and safe, where the nobility and the people being framed by their education to live together in a temperate and mild manner, have caused, that our armies have been always filled with our own inhabitants; and those being hardened with continual labour, and by affection and profit united to their landlords, who led them, for the most part prevailed in encounters against this nation; their forces either consisting of mercenaries, who had no care of the estate, or gentlemen, whose first brunts are furious, but want breath and hardiness to debate the matter in long fight. Another disorder is noted in this overmuch couragiousness of gentlemen, that they are apt to duels and combats, which the king pretendeth he is desirous to repress, though

others think he is contented to have the most dangerous and boiling heads weeded out in that sort.

Besides, they never raise soldiers, but they oppress the husbandman : with us it is otherwise. And the oppressed people are like to make proof of their discontentments, when they shall have leaders able to make them know their own strength, of which sort there never wanted many in France, who, upon their discontentments and private ends, have been ever ready, both to raise sedition among the subjects, to procure invasions by strangers, and to seize themselves of some fortresses, thereby to keep themselves in vigour and safety, till either they have eased their minds by revenges, or otherwise wrought their natural prince to their own designs. And never was this kingdom more prepared and inclined to such a matter, than it is at this day, both by the house of Guise, and also the heads of the protestant religion, who are held the best captains now in France. So as the great ones being apt to call in strangers, and the people in general to adhere to them, upon hope to have their state amended ; if this crown should again fall into the disorders, which a minority, or many pretenders to the sovereignty, usually work, there would be a notable opportunity wrought to those, who should be prepared to assail them.

Reserve of wealth.

In their reserve of wealth for extraordinary occasions, some note these disorders. First, that the subjects, who have any wealth, seek not to augment and conserve it by way of merchandise, or honest trades, as they were wont to do : But every one places his money in buying offices for his children, the rather, for that officers wives have precedence
before

before those of other citizens. Hence it followeth, that, as some estimate it, the third part of the people of this country spend their time in chicanery; and Italians and other strangers get their wealth into their hands, which is to be obtained by traffick. Further, that, which is stirring among the natural inhabitants, is very unevenly parted, being in the hands of the king himself, or of his officers of finances or justice; the gentleman, the citizen, and much more the husbandman, being but poor and needy; and yet from these, and not the former, must the king draw his means of defence in time of need. And touching this king's accumulating of treasure, it seems to be a very fallible ground of power or greatness. For, first, it must needs breed infinite discontentments, while it is in gathering; and the effects, which it produceth, being gathered, have been to many states rather hurtful than profitable. The free state of the antient Rome was many years heaping up treasure in *Templo Saturni*, gathered out of the spoils of all conquered nations. The end of it was, that Julius Cæsar seized himself thereof, (*Pauperiorque fuit tum primum Cæsare Roma*) and by means thereof assured so many partizans to himself as he was truly able to vaunt, *Ego S. P. Q. R. nomen sine re effeci*. Charles the first of France, surnamed the wise, heaped up a great treasure, thinking to leave it to his son Charles VI. but his brother the duke of Anjou, as soon as he was dead, got it all into his hands, and spent it about the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, which enterprise he yet atchieved not, but perished therein. Henry VII. king of England heaped up a great treasure*, and left it actually to his son Henry VIII. The fruit thereof was, that thereby the young king so accustomed himself to vain and riotous expences, as to

* Two and twenty hundred thousand pounds, it is said, were left by him in ready money.

hold on the course he had begun : he made unwonted levies upon his people, and thereby stirred a rebellion or two ; ransacked and shared with the potent men of his country all the abbey lands, which perchance might have been converted to some more profitable uses for the publick ; and at last was fain to coin base monies, the last refuge of a bankrupt estate, and a plain confession of violating that *fides publica*, wherewith they were trusted.

Never king came poorer to a kingdom than this present *French* king. By industry and heed, notwithstanding, he is grown to that wealth, which we see. But whether the leaving it to his Dauphin shall be profitable or hurt, many doubt, and the event will shew. There is none, that can with more experience discuss this point than your majesty, by your finding differently furnished your two crowns of Scotland and England. In sum, many hold a great treasure to be like a heavy sword, of which a strong man may well prevail himself ; but a child or a weakling, that will undertake to flourish with it, instead of wounding his enemy, shall gash himself. Wherefore this king's course in matters of expence seemeth partly commendable ; as that he restraineth his ordinary expence as much as he can, and leaveth a good portion for extraordinaries : Some writers prescribe a fourth of the whole revenue to be laid aside for extraordinaries : That he nourisheth many of his people in works, either magnificent for his own use and glory, or commodious to the publick, as fortifications of frontiers, cutting of new beds for rivers, making of high-ways, havens, or the like. And it seemeth partly doubtful, as that he continueth so great oppressions on his people, having means to ease them, which, as to himself it addeth reputation abroad, so at home it no way
strength-

strengthens him in the minds of his subjects; and may chance to be the pretext of a civil war to his Dauphin, especially remaining in the hands of Mons. Sully, a man generally hated, in quarrel with great men, and of religion opposite to that professed in the kingdom.

Religion.

Touching their *Sacra*, or ordering matters of religion; before I speak of it, because the treatise may chance be seen with other eyes than your majesty's, I had need to make apology for myself to those, who think the very speech of mixing matters of religion and civil policy together, savoureth of atheism. But, to my understanding, we are doubly bound to almighty God, who of his goodness maketh, that the relying upon his worship giveth us means of passing our lives commodiously in this world, and attaining everlasting reward in the world to come. If, therefore, the civil effects of religion be (as before hath been touched) to dispose the people to live civilly, peaceably, obediently and innocently; surely in that kingdom there are many disorders in the same. For, as for their peaceableness, we see how far they have been from it, in their past civil wars, raised upon pretext of religion, and prosecuted with more bitterness and cruelty, than were ever the quarrels, that in time past set men together by the ears about the diversities of governments monarchical and popular. But for repressing the flame thereof, this king hath wisely cast others thereon, thereby to cover it; and it is doubted, that if he, or any other, should seek utterly to extinguish it, by throwing water upon it, the smoke may chance to arise so great, as to put out his eyes first, and in the end, like fire in knotty

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wood,

wood, it might chance burn the brighter. Touching obedience, first, under pretence of Romish religion here, there are (besides the great ones of the clergy) an infinite number of religious persons, who have their vow of obedience to the pope; the which serve as so many garrisons in this estate for the pope's power, and yet are maintained at the cost and charges of this kingdom, and not of the see of Rome. Secondly, we have seen, that first the protestants, and then the papists have assailed that crown openly by great armies, under these pretences of religion. As for the innocency of their lives, the behaviour of the king, on the one side, nor of Monsieur de Sully, on the other, give no great good example. And for the generality of meaner men, I have heard some, who have come papists out of England, say, that to see the manner of the papists living here hath almost perswaded them to abandon that religion, that they professed, notwithstanding there are many on each side both zealous in their life, and morally honest; but for the most part in these doubtful and turbulent times they use religion as a matter of faction, and of traffick for their private advantages.

Justice.

But that, which I had most cause to look to, during my service there, was the manner of administration of justice, wherein there are many disorders, which also give exceeding great discontentment; whereof the first and principal is, that all their judges enter into their places by offending God with plain and manifest perjury. For although every body certainly knows, that they have bought their places of judicature, yet before they be received to exercise the same, there is a solemn oath to be taken,
that

that they have not given or promised any money, or other matter of value, for the same. How such people are like to go on, who begin in that sort (especially when in every cause, little or great, there are solicitations and maintenances of potent men and women, not only tolerated, but expected, and in a manner exacted of the judges themselves) is easy to estimate. For my own part, in the causes, which I have had to solicit for your majesty's subjects, I have found, that where the judges or reporters were not interested in their own profit, they have always been not only slow (or rather impotent) in rendering that justice, which the laws of nations, and their own treaties oblige, them unto, but, by the contrary, have proceeded in their injustice and oppression even with alacrity: And some of their greatest officers have either given me fair promises, without any effect following (but rather doing clean contrary to that, which they had said) or else have scoffed at mine insisting upon a confident demand of justice, telling me in plain terms, that the states of the world, now a days, look to their own profit, and not to the justice due to others; for in that case, said they, there is no prince but must relinquish most of his possessions.

Again, by the sale of their places of judicature it falleth out, that old advocates plead causes, and young counsellors or judges determine them, who pass over matters in post, having for their ends, not the delivery of true and sound justice, but the gratifying of those men and women, who have solicited them in the cause, and the raising to themselves of huge and large Espices * or fees; info-

* Espices. Their fees are called espices from the old custom they had, it being not lawful, in ancient time, to take any other recompence for discharging their places *prætor esculenta*. Now the thing is changed, and the name only remains.

much

much as a man of mean quality, that was reporter of a cause for some of your majesty's subjects unjustly condemned to the gallies at Rochelle (which sentence, at my suit, was afterwards overthrown in the parliament at Paris) taxed for his own pains in perusing the papers of this one cause, 24 *l.* sterling, besides all other fees paid to all other officers : and had it not been for the hope of that gain, I doubt the cause would not have had so good an end.

Sale of Offices.

Touching this felling of offices, many suppose, that the king receives greater prejudice therein, than the profit or gain he draws thereout is worth ; for that when those places were bestowed freely upon men of worth, and knowledge, and integrity, the people well contented themselves with the edicts for levies of monies and other impositions, which had passed their allowance : but now their reputation being almost clean decayed, it prepareth them to seek out some new means of relief. Again, the company of judges, or court of parliament, with great authority opposed themselves against the encroachments of the court of Rome, the king being not then seen in it ; whereas now the brunt of the opposition lieth upon himself. Others say, it were as good the king sold them, as leave them to the sale of the judges themselves, as the manner is with us ; for, besides the revenue he raiseth thereout, they are, as it were, so many tenures, which draw necessary dependance upon the king from them, which have purchased the same : but they would have those oaths taken away of giving nothing ; they would have them collated upon persons elected by those formerly of the company, that the entry of those unworthily preferred might rest upon them, and

and not upon the king, who now by his rash bestowing them, either on him, who offereth most, without respect of persons merit, or who cometh first after some loss of his at play (inasmuch as at some times he hath played at dice presidents places, that were void) draweth much obloquy and scandal to himself. In this point, amongst us there was a statute made in 5. E. VI. whereby all sale of offices is utterly forbidden; and there is a proviso worth the noting inserted, for excepting the justices of both benches, and the justices of assize, namely, that they may in such cases do, as they had formerly accustomed to do.

Of persons managing their great affairs.

THEIR number may be restrained to four, namely, the king himself, the lord chancellor, the duke of Sully, and Monsieur de Villeroy.

The king.

The king's person is of great ability both for the vigor of his body, and the force of his mind. That of his body is said to have been wrought by a strange and extraordinary kind of nourishment, which he received in his infancy. For his father and mother bringing up over delicately his elder brother, by their too much tenderness brought him to that weakness, as he died in his childhood: The which his grandfather Henry king of Navarre considering, would needs take upon him the direction of this king's education, and placed him with a husbandman, where he was amongst his children, brought up like one of them, with hard and coarse fare, and for the most part, till he was seven years old, without hose or shoes: which relation Monsieur
de

de Villeroy made to Sir William Godolphin and me at the time your majesty sent him over to congratulate the king and queen's escape from their danger of drowning. The king was born the 13th of December 1553, and hath in the course of his life run through the most hazards of any great personage, that now liveth, or of whom mention is almost to be found in any histories; for besides one hundred and twenty five fights of battles, and other exploits of arms, wherein he hath been personally in the field; and two hundred sieges of towns, he hath escaped divers other dangers, as that of drowning, and the assassins of Pierre Barriere, and John Chastel, both scholars of the Jesuits, the like of the one of which only took away the life of his predecessor. Yet of his natural disposition, he seemeth not to be very hardy, as appeared after the massacre of Paris, where he shewed nothing so much magnanimity and resolution for persisting in his religion, as his cousin the prince of Condé did. And before that, I had often heard of certain English gentlemen, who went into France under the leading of an uncle of mine, called Henry Champernowne, and came to the camp about the time of the battle of Moncontour, and continued in the same during all the circuit it made under the admiral Chastillon and the two princes of Navarre and Condé, through Gascogne and Languedoc, till it came to René le Duc, where the peace was made, that the prince of Condé, in the opinion of all the camp, was much preferred before the prince of Navarre for his courage and worthiness; the one bending his mind to military studies, and getting the love of men of war; and the other to the feeding of cocks, and hawks, and other birds; so that then he had the report to be timorous and dull. But the often dangers, which necessity inforced him to pass afterwards, had wrought those effects upon

upon his able body, about the beginning of the league, as he, who wrote in Spanish, *L'unione Catalica*, having occasion to mention this king, speaketh of him (though being his enemy) as of another Achilles, that had the leading of the Mirmidons, saying, that the forces, that he brought to the aid of the last king, were more considerable for their valour than for their number, which was but two thousand, but of that military hardnels and sufficiency, as in two year together they were never seen abroad unbooted, but perpetually in exercise of war or hunting. This seemeth also to be confirmed by the course he hath held, since he hath had the means to live in peace. For he studiously avoideth all occasions of war, especially where he doubteth to find any strong opposition; and therefore though he went roundly in hand with the poor duke of Savoy about the marquitate of Saluces, yet he was content to quit his conquests, when Spain began to enter into the quarrel, and to patch up a peace with receiving the country of Bresse in exchange thereof. And for his own hereditary country of Navarre, which Spain withholdeth so unjustly from him, and of which all christendom expected he would have undertaken the recovery (especially Spain lying so exhausted and entangled in a damageable war on the one side, and he the other more plentifully furnished with all kind of necessities appertaining to war, than any of his predecessors of a long time) is yet content to be quiet. Besides, albeit at his last expedition towards Sedan, he had as well the forces, which himself had levied against the duke of Bouillon, as those, which the duke had prepared for his own defence, ready at his commandment, a great river apt to carry all his amunitions of war into the heart of the archduke's country, where he might seize himself of territories adjacent and contiguous to his own dominions,

minions, by way of reprisal (as in the quarrel against Savoy for Saluces, he had done of Bresse) in lieu of those detained from him in Navarre, and that the Low-country states exhorted him therunto, offering both assistance and diversion to the uttermost of their power, and that (upon the practices of Spain with Mirargues, for which he was executed) the king had, to myself, used certain brave and minatory words, as if he had a purpose to resent himself against Spain; yet in the end he only bought a peace of the poor duke of Bouillon, some demonstrations of the honour of the matter resting for a while on this king's part (which also are since vanished) but the true real effects of profit remaining with the duke. This natural disposition of want of true magnanimity, or of the lacheté, (as the marquise of Verneuil stileth it) appeareth in effect in all his actions. Those, who hazarded their lives and fortunes for settling the crown on his head, he neither rewardeth nor payeth; those, who were of the league against him, he hath bought to be his friends, and giveth them preferments. And to myself he hath affirmed, that he found them his most trusty servants. The Jesuits, who sought to take away his life, he cherisheth most of all the Roman orders, for fear lest they should do the same again.

Those counsellors of his, who are most potent with him, as Villeroy and Sully, govern him by terror rather than obsequiousness. In his love it is the like, and therefore both the queen and the marquise of Verneuil, when they will obtain any thing of him, find they prevail most in gourmanding him. So it is also in his play, where he sheweth extreme passion in small losses, and is content to gain by all kind of shifts and devices. Likewise in his ordinary discourses, where he respecteth not the truth of the matter, but only what may serve his turn for the present: but chiefly in his religion,

where he hath made often demonstration, by his changes and loose life, that he valueth both his profit and pleasure above it.

Touching the strength of his apprehension and conceit, it is held rather to consist in certain starting holes and short ends of wit, than in any sound sufficiency of discourse. And therefore those of his court say of him, that for *defaites* and *repartees* he is excellent, but that he is nobody at enterprises or consultations *de longue haleine*; the which, in mine own negotiation with him, I have observed also to be true. In sum, I suppose it may be said of him, that as multitude of dangers hath brought him also to a habit of resolution in distress beyond his natural propension or disposition; so the experience of many affairs and businesses maketh him ready to determine what way he will take in ordinary occurrences, though he have not the patience in a new object to weigh what may be said on the one side, and on the other, and by comparing the reasons to determine, which are the most important.

For his parts of manners and conversation, they are very sweet and pleasing, nothing sanguinary, not swollen with pride, but with an excellent temperament he seemeth to equal himself to the meanest of his subjects in hearing and talking with them, and with the greatest and most potent he retaineth such a majesty, as makes them tremble, not only at his words, but also at his looks and countenances. And the opinion of his virtue or powerful commanding is so eminent, joined with his curiosity and watchfulness to understand all matters both small and great, as though he do worse things in matters of intemperance and lubricity, even in full light before the eyes of all people, than those, which were doubtfully imputed to his predecessor Hen. III. to have been used by him in secret within the doors
of

of his chamber, and that some took occasion thereby to bring his said predecessor into hatred and contempt of his people; yet is there not any, either ecclesiastical or lay, at home or abroad, that dare attain this man for it in any sort. He is excellent also in his oeconomical faculty, or looking into matters of profit; omitting no means or advantage of enriching his realm generally, nor of drawing the best offices and inheritances to his children both legitimate and natural. In way of liberality he payeth more pensions than ever any of his predecessors did; and therein also he useth great art and heed to furnish the sums requisite thereto, out of means little burdensome to himself, and distributeth them with great choice to persons of importance, who may either serve him in his occasions, or at least be contraried, by the means thereof, from being busy in attempting against him. The limitation of them also is personal and temporary; so as both he may withdraw them when he list, and those, to whom they are first granted, cannot transfer them to others. His magnificence in building huge and stately works in his palaces for his own use, in fortifications for safety of his realm, in bridges, high-ways, and cutting of rivers for the ease and commodities of his people, is very great; and yet as he handleth the matter, it is one of his smallest expences. To conclude, as they make here a distinction between a good man and a good king by their ordinary proverb, *De meschant homme bon roy*; so it may be said of him touching his moral virtues and vices, that his vices are somewhat preponderant, though Pere Cotton use to tell him, that he is in the assured way to salvation, in respect of his merits, for those being ballanced with his crimes, are in the proportion of 8 to 4. But estimating him as a king, his virtues are much more eminent, having brought his

his realm, that was utterly shaken, and ready to rend in pieces, to the greatest wealth, union and strength, that it hath been in for this many hundred years; wherein he observeth the old rule of Polybius, that by merit or demerit in times past, he esteemeth not his friends or foes, but valueth them according to the profit or harm, that may from them come to him for the future. His health and strength he hath in a great proportion, his body being not only able for all exercises, but even for excesses and distempers, both in intemperance, and incontinency. And though he be sometimes bitten by the gout, yet he ever findeth means suddenly to shake it off. And in the four years, that I served in that court, I found him little decayed in his countenance, or other disposition of his body, but he rather grew to look younger every day than other; so that I would think he were likely to live a long while, but that some of their historiographers have observed, that for these five hundred years, none of their kings ever passed the age of sixty; and so this man being of the same race, should in probability run the same course also *.

The Chancellor.

The chancellor is a man, who hath been brought up in the study and practice of the laws, but therein attained not any such excellency of knowledge, as might promote to this eminency of dignity, which he now enjoyeth. After he fell to be employed in messages and embassages first to this king, when he was king of Navarre, who then began to affect him, next in Switzerland, and afterwards at Rome. During his employments in Switzerland the

* He was slain the 1st of May, 1610.

last king died, and there he not only declared himself speedily and roundly for this king, but was fain to furnish the charge of his embassage out of his own means, this king's wants being then such as are known. In his service at Rome, he was the chief man used for the match between this king and the present queen. These things, joined to his own plausible proceeding with all men, and his obsequious seconding of this king's humours, hath brought him to the height of authority, which he now holdeth, being for affairs of estate, of revenue, of justice, of government, and for enjoying his majesty's ear at all occasions, the most active and employed chancellor, that hath been in France a long time.

In his manner of negotiating he is very close and wary, full of fair words, and fruitless promises, to give contentment for the time; and either forgetteth them, or doth the clean contrary, insomuch as some call him, *Le Tresorier des promesses*. He speaketh the Latin and Italian tongues in good perfection, and hath some knowledge of the Greek. In his humanity learning, as in the science of the laws, he is held rather superficial than profound. His chief desire and end is to enrich himself, *per fas & nefas*, and therein some of his court have, in discourse with me, applied to him the saying of Tacitus, concerning the *liberti* of Galba, that they had *manus festinantes & avidas tanquam sub sene principe*. From other vices he is indifferent clear. In those causes, which I have had to solicit during my service, I cannot much vaunt of his justice or honourable proceeding: but he is an excellent negotiator, wary in what he sayeth himself, temperate and patient concerning those things, which proceed from others, in so much as reproaches move him not to anger; of a comely countenance and presence, and rather shewing an affable courtliness than a judicial gravity
in

in his entertainment. For continuing his potency in court, he is exceedingly well settled ; First, by the king's inclination towards him, and his obsequiousness towards him again ; likewise his vigilancy and care to entertain all matters, even more than he is able to dispatch. Secondly, by entertaining the queen in the like manner. And to encrease the first obligation, that she hath to him of procuring the match, he continueth as it were an arbiter of the differences between her and the marquise, and sticketh in his plausible manner on the queen's side, when the king entereth into distempers with her touching these causes.

Thirdly, Mons. Villeroy and he join close together in opposition against de Sully, and prevailing themselves of the advantage of religion, which hath the sway here put Sully ever to his defences ; and by this means hold themselves the closer together in other matters also.

Fourthly, by having brought in his son de Puisieux into Mons. Villeroy's place, upon his marriage with Mons. Alincourt's daughter ; and both the chancellor and Mons. de Villeroy, turn all the most important affairs to the dispatch of the said Puisieux, and reform him of his errors out of their experience, so as he is in the best method of proving an able minister of state, of any young man perchance in Europe ; his father also having been careful to bring him up in learning, and attaining sundry languages, both learned, as the Latin and Greek, and vulgar as the German and Italian, which he speaketh in good perfection. He began to enter into his office of secretary at my first coming to that court ; and then the king told me, he destined De Puisieux to the service of the Dauphin, as Villeroy was used under him ; so as this serveth the chancellor in settling his posterity for the future also.

so. The young man of himself is vain and windy, but these courses must needs surmount nature, and in time breed greater sufficiency in him. They are, by extraction, of the family of the Bruslarts in Paris, (and sign by that name) which of late times hath been much employed in affairs of state and justice; and I have placed them both together, because they lodge both in one house at Paris.

Duke de Sully, treasurer, before Marquis De Rosny.

The duke of Sully, as himself told me, was born the 6th of January 1560, and by many is held to be of a Scottish extraction, of the family of the Betons, though he himself will not acknowledge it, but pretendeth to be descended from the lords of Bethun in Flanders. He hath been from his youth brought up with the king, and in thirty-three years never from him. Of his manners and fashions, I need not speak, having himself been so lately in England; but some resemble them to a great furnace, which, out of a strong and vigorous heat of understanding and courage, casts also a great smoke of vaunting and rigorous arrogancy. In his negotiating I have found him open, substantial, and ingenuous, despising the affectation of seeming wise by petty subtilties, and close retiredness.

Though he holdeth great offices, yet it seemeth, the worth of his own person hath rather made his places great, than they have exalted him. His first greatness is said to have grown out of this occasion. The Duke d'Espèrnon propounded, in council, a certain levy to be made upon the people of his government. Roigny being newly come to the place of intendant *des finances*, spake bitterly before Espèrnon's face against it, terming it a shameful proposition and a robbery; and withall tore the memorial, which
d'Espèrnon

d'Espernon had delivered concerning the same. That indignity exasperated d'Espernon so much, as reproaching Rosny's baseness and arrogancy, he set his hand to his sword. Rosny answered with as great fierceness, and used the like demonstration of force, adding, that in their birth there was small odds; or, if there were any, it was on his side; and that when it pleased this king to do as much for him, as the last had done for d'Espernon, he should be every way his equal. The king hearing of this disorder, reproved d'Espernon, bidding him to gourmand his own valets, and not his officers. And that Rosny had answered him well, which he should see by effect, and thereupon promised to make Rosny duke and peer of France. Since that time, the king supporting Sully in all his rough courses, which he hath taken for the encreasing the revenues of his crown, he hath found great profit thereby himself. But Sully hath thereby made himself extremely odious to great and small, and especially to the count Soissons, which happened in this sort. Sully delaying to make payment of a certain sum, which the king had granted to the count, and the count's solicitor willing and pressing him to consider, that it was a prince of the blood, whom he delayed; Sully made answer, It were well with the realm, if the king had no more cousins than he had brethren. Whereupon the count pretending to use forcible means to offend Sully, the king caused it to be notified, that whosoever should attempt Sully, should find the king's own person for his second; Since that time Sully hath ever been accompanied with troops of gentlemen, where before he made it his glory to be followed only with one servant and a couple of lacquies. But he ever carried out the matter bravely, and told myself once or twice, that the count threatned many, but hurt none;

and in the end, both the count Soissons, and duke d'Espernon, are become his great and obsequious friends.

When Sully came first to the managing of the revenues, he found (as he himself told me) all things out of order, full of robbery of officers, full of confusion, no treasure, no munition, no furniture for the king's houses, and the crown, indebted three hundred millions; that is, three millions of pounds sterling. Since that time, that in February 1608, he had acquitted one hundred and thirty millions of that debt, redeeming the most part of the revenues of the crown that were mortgaged; that he had brought good store of treasure into the Bastille, filled most of the arsenals with munition, furnished most of the king's houses with rich tapestry, and other moveables; and where the farms of the whole realm amounted then but to 800000 l. sterling, this year 1609, he had let them out for 1000000 l. and that without exacting any more upon the people than was paid before, but only by reducing that to the king's coffers, which was embezzled by under-officers.

Whether the prosecution of the Romish faction will at length remove him from the court, is somewhat doubtful. But if it should happen, I suppose it would prove for your majesty's advantage, and that king's detriment. For not only the affairs of the revenues, might perchance fall into disorders again; but the Protestants, both in that kingdom and abroad, would then fall into diffidence of the proceeding of that court, when the council should be altogether Romish (whereas now they suppose nothing will be propounded to their subversion all the while he is there) and seek to fortify themselves by new intelligences, and associations; the which happening, must necessarily make them fall (in regard of foreign forces) to a dependance upon your majesty,

and like enough would make them choose also a new head to depend upon in that realm, such as this king himself was in his predecessor's time. Besides he is ever hammering upon building a navy for the sea, which if he should effect, might prove an evil neighbour to your majesty's dominions. Again, upon colour of the project of the treaty, that was made at his being in England, he is more opposite to the paying your majesty's debt (stretching the same treaty beyond all reasonable construction, because he made it himself) than any other, who should come in his place, would be.

Touching the Protestants of France, they have no great aid or support from him, but he is as harsh and rough to them, as to any others; and stoppeth little that supplanting of particulars which the king useth, but rather serveth among their body altogether for the king's ends. And touching his persisting so constantly in the profession of the reformed religion, many doubt, it proceedeth rather out of policy, than out of conscience, seeing his life is nothing answerable to his profession; but full of incontinency, of oppression, and rapine for his own particular, as well as for his Master's profit. His speech is full of immodesty and filthiness, even at his own table publickly; a scoffer and contemner of all respects of justice, which terms he both used to myself, and, as I hear, to many others of that king's subjects, telling them, his master had placed him in his office to encrease his revenue, and not to deliver justice. But because that he doubteth, that upon the king's death, the count of Soissons, or other of his enemies might persecute him, as, after Philip le Bel's death, Enguerrand de Marigny, who had the like power in France, and money matters, and the like opposition with great men, was persecuted by Charles de Valois, who ceased not, till had caused

Enguerrand, upon forged accusations, to be hanged in the place of the Greve at Paris ; therefore for his own safety, it behoveth him so to carry himself in the mean time, as he may then shroud himself among the party of the religion. Besides, he knoweth the king's timorous and suspicious nature so well, and hath such a predominant genius over his, as he shall better maintain his reputation and power with him, in standing stiff upon his own terms, than in making demonstration of fear or yielding.

But talking with de Sully of this point myself, he attributed this his constancy to his own natural resolution, saying, *Je ne demords jamais ce, que j'ay une fois resolu pour bon*. One great difference I observe between the chancellor and Mons. de Sully, the first having many good words, and deeds nothing answerable ; and the other's deeds are rather better than worse than his words. De Sully is not void of learning, both of knowledge of Latin, and other studies of humanity ; but chiefly in arguing points of religion, wherein he is very ready and confident. But he most prizeth himself for his military ableness, being offended, when men ascribe the chiefest part of his sufficiency to the managing of the matters of the king's revenues and treasures. He hath sought heretofore, to fortify himself in court, by means of the queen and the house of Guise. But the chancellor growing more potent with the queen, he hath of late fallen in with the marquise of Verneuil to terms of friendship, from that bitter opposition, which was long between them. He hath also entertained intelligence long with the house of Guise ; but their unthriftiness being like to ruin him, he by degrees falleth off from them. By alliances he hath strengthened himself with the two houses of Rohan and Ventadour, where he hath placed two daughters, and his son is bestowed with Mons. de Crequy's daughter,

daughter, who shall have all the wealth of Lesdiguieres, being very great. So that by that marriage, and his father's purchases, young Rosny is like to prove one of the chiefest subjects of France.

Monsieur de Villeroy.

Monf. de Villeroy, by his long experience in matters of state, is held to be the dean in chapter of all the statemen in Christendom, having attained to a great age, still vigorous and healthy, not decaying in his judgment or senses any thing; and having even from his infancy (as he saith himself in one of his Apologies) been brought up in the bosoms of the kings; and in the year 1605, he told me, it was thirty-eight years since he began the execution of the place, which he then held. Upon his advice and counsel the king chiefly relieth, and some of the court told me, that *Il luy donne sur les doigts*, when the king hath been over busy in speaking to an ambassador more than he should. He is naturally generous, and of a great courage, and fierceness, and not abandoning his resolutions and purposes, nor taxed with any unnoble means of scraping wealth together. And indeed he had no need to do it, which the chancellor and Sully had, being raised to their greatness from very mean estate; whereas Villeroy had 5000 l. sterling, in revenue, by descent from his father, and affecteth not those outward demonstrations of pomp and magnificence, which the other two do, but rather seeketh that, which is solid and commodious. And where it is ascribed to Sully for a great matter of courage and resolution, that he hath not renounced the religion, in which he hath been brought up; Villeroy hath done much more, for he was not contented to be only assured of his own, even when the League was growing in-

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to decadence, but besides, forced the king to forsake his, and to make profession of the other; as appeareth in the treaties between them, when Villeroy was first brought to the king's service. His chiefest greatness with this king grew out of the folly of Mons. du Plessis Mornay, unto whom de Villeroy at first sought much to have assurance of the king's protection, and some remote place in his favour; and the managing or dispatch of affairs of state, was not only offered but pressed upon du Plessis; but, he pretending to be a man of war, and that such a writing life was not answerable to the greatness of his mind, and rather seeking to be one of the marshals of France, made thereby way for Villeroy to sieze himself of the most important; and for Plessis, he lost both the one and the other. Since which time Villeroy hath hedged in matters so handsomely, as not only in affairs of state, the king reposeth most upon him, but even in religion he hath made the king altogether popish, or at least brought him into hatred and detestation of the reformed.

In his negotiating, Villeroy is not so open as Sully, nor so close as the chancellor, but after a very good fashion, short, and pertinent; yet still standing upon his advantages, *pour faire parler*, as he termeth it, him, who treateth with him, and according as he findeth the party either instructed or ignorant of matters, so entertaining speech to give him rather contentment and respect, than any light or information of what he knew not before. And to me in plain terms, he used these words once: "Mark well, saith he, what I say; and make your advantage of it, if you can, for your master's profit, as I will do also of that, which you shall say to me, for the profit of mine." Though, for the most part, he use a direct and round kind of proceeding;

ceeding; yet sometimes he will, with great confidence, affirm an untruth to serve the present; and when he purposeth a shrewd turn, he is noted to use in his answers a smiling countenance. Ornaments of learning he hath few or none at all; but a strong natural judgment, polished, and perfected with a long experience. In matters of religion, very obstinate, and very ignorant; a great friend to the see of Rome, and so by consequence as much averse from any good or friendship towards the isle of Great Britain, as his master's affairs will permit: which opinion, as appeareth by his actions, he still continueth, and (as I doubt) any good offices, which may be used towards him, will prove uneffectual to remove him from it.

*Of those, who are like to succeed in the government
of the realm.*

THE number of those also may be restrained to four; namely, the queen, the Dauphin, the duke of Vendosme, and Mons. de Verneuil. Of the rest of the king's male children, I cannot say any thing, being so young as they are, not being yet christened.

The Queen.

The queen is a lady adorned with much beauty and comeliness of body, and with much beauty and virtue of mind; very observant of all exercises of her religion; and very charitable, in performing towards the poor works of mercy; governing the young women and ladies about her with gravity, and causing them to spend their time in works of their needle, and thereby containing them from those disorders,
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which commonly follow idleness and vanity. Her main and sole opposition is against the marquise of Verneuil, who being of an excellent, pleasant, and witty entertainment, maintaineth still a strong hold in the king's affections; and the queen by her eagerness doth work herself some disadvantage, as hath been in part touched before. For the rest of those, who have the name of the king's mistresses, she carrieth herself with great æquanimity, being not only content, but rather desirous, that by directing the king's affections touching that point to many others, they may be the more weakened towards the marquise. But these matters are daily subject to alterations and whole changes. Of speech the queen is slow, and unapt to hold talk or discourse, the French accounting her somewhat dull; but yet for the main grounds of attending to her profit, or her power, she is provident enough, and is of a commanding and high spirit, that will cause herself to be obeyed in those things, wherein she is permitted to meddle. The regency is like to fall into her hands, if God should call the king in the Dauphin's minority; and she handleth the matter in that behalf so well, as that not only the chancellor and Villeroy persuade themselves, that if things should come under her command, their authority should continue, but entertaineth also the house of Guise in that belief, that their credit might rear itself under her regency, to draw the more dependants to oppose against the house of Bourbon, who are like to contest the point of the regency with her. Besides, she hath drawn the Dauphin to her, and likewise the marquise's son; of which two persons she proposeth not to displease herself, but to have them sure *in omnem æventum*.

The Dauphin.

The Dauphin resembleth his mother much more than the king. He is like to prove of a tall, and strong body, and a fierce and imperious mind. He sheweth to those youths, who are brought up with him, somewhat a cruel and vindictive disposition; though the king one day pain'd himself to tell me many pretty stories, that argued the meekness of his nature. He is yet heavy and dull in conceit and discourse, and timorous and dastardly in his courage; at the which the king hath been much troubled, when he hath seen or heard the tokens of it, saying, *Fault il donc que je soy pere d'un poltron?* but his education is like to polish and amend both these faults. A little boy of mine, who hath had the honour to accompany him in some of his exercises, telleth many pretty tales of his speeches and actions, wherein his natural disposition may partly be estimated; among the rest, that he is much affectioned towards the young marquis of Verneuil, consulting with him what answers he should make, and then speaking that, which the other had told him. The Dauphin was born in September *anno Dom.* 1601.

Duke of Vendosme.

The duke of Vendosme is in shape the most handsome, in age the most mature, and in affection the best beloved of this king's natural children. His fashion and manner of entertainment is discreet, and agreeable.

The which, joined to the possession and offices daily heaped upon him by the king, and to the great inheritance, which his wife hath in the province of Bretagne, together with his title from the house of Blois

Blois to the dutchy itself (which in the parliament of Paris was judged to be better than that of the house of Montfort, by which the crown of France now holdeth it) and the government of Provence, which the king hath bestowed upon that young duke, seemeth to invite him to the renewing of the rights of the ancient dutchy, and if troubles arise after the king's death, to hold it rather as a province of his own, than as a government under another. In this year 1609, he entereth into the sixteenth year of his age. His younger brother, whom they call the Chevalier, is designed to be admiral of France; and his sister to be married to the duke of Longueville.

Young Verneuil.

The young Verneuil is comely of face, quick of conceit, and ready of speech; but in his body for activeness, nothing so well timbred as the Dauphin. To extinguish his pretences to the crown, the king purposeth to make him a clergyman, and the bishopric of Mets is already disposed to him. His mother hath been in hand to have the government of Mets also as a place of refuge, both for herself and her son, against the cruel 'courses, which it is supposed the queen would hold with them, if God should call the king. The which if she obtain, there want not examples in the French histories, of ballards, which have partaged the same place, under the stile and title of Kings of Mets. The Dauphin and he were both born in one year; but the Dauphin is somewhat the elder.

In what terms the French live with their bordering neighbours.

HEREIN first to begin with Italy, that parteth itself into two branches, the one the see of Rome, and the other the rest of the princes and States of Italy.

Rome.

Concerning Rome, This king seeketh to uphold a kind of authority there, by distributing some pensions in that court, and some collars of his order to some noblemen of good houses in that country: but for authority in twaying matters, Spain must needs be infinitely before them there, for many causes.

As first, there is in Spain no faction on foot directly opposite to the said see, as that of the Protestants in France; whereby the Pope may better assure himself of the conservation of his authority and power in the one country, than in the other. Nay, the very Roman Catholics themselves of France are so apt to quarrel, and disobey the pope's proceedings, as to this day they have not received nor allowed the decrees of the council of Trent. And the Bishops in part, but especially the courts of Parliament (under pretence of preserving the liberties *de l'Eglise Gallicane* and maintaining the rights of that crown) hold all the pope's nuncios and legates so short there, as they draw nothing so much profit from thence, as out of the dominions of Spain. For a nuncio by his residence in the court of France getteth little, but rather spendeth of his own stock; whereas a nuncio, that resides three or four years in the
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the court of Spain, by reason of faculties, dispensations, and collations of benefices, under a certain value, returneth home enriched of 100,000 crowns over and above his charges. Besides, the Spanish dominions being adjacent and contiguous to those of the church, as Sicily, Naples, and Milan, there is not only more hope for the Cardinals, and others of that see, to get benefices, and other ecclesiastical promotions, with more commodiousness there; but also by reason of the nearness, the Spaniard is more fitted in any occasion of quarrel to use violence and oppression to that see, than the French; as likewise to protect and defend it from invasions of the Turk: Now hope of profit, and fear of harm, are, always have been, and ever will be, the most potent means of drawing multitudes of partisans and dependants. Furthermore, by reason of the same dominions of the king of Spain in Italy, there are more cardinals by odds on the Spanish part than on French. But the chiefeft means of glewing them together is held to be, that the king of Spain's title to all his dominions, dependeth merely on the see of Rome's support, in privileging the marriages of the one by the dispensations of the other, which otherwise, by the law of God, are utterly unlawful. So as if the reformed religion should come to have sway in Christendom, the right to all the Spanish dominions should be in the house of Savoy, and not in that of Austria.

And therefore the mutual need the one hath of the other, serveth to strengthen their union, and coherence. Notwithstanding, the popes (for maintaining their ancient greatness, which consisteth chiefly in swaying and ballancing matters between these two kings) but chiefly for retaining the greater respect in Spain, which perchance would grow insolent, if it had there no opposite, continue the ancient

precedence, which the ambassadors of France have before those of Spain, in that court, for fear lest France should utterly forsake them.

Princes of Italy.

Concerning the rest of the princes and states of Italy, the most part have little respect to France, as Florence, Urbino, Mantua, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Massa, and some others; but do *comiter colere majestatem Hispanicam*: and so doth Genoa also, though of late, seeing the kingdom to flourish in strength and riches again, they have made, in some petty matters, certain demonstrations, that they would be held for a free state, as not permitting the Spanish galleys to come into their havens, under pretence of avoiding a storm, in greater number than that, which is limited by the treaties between Spain and Genoa. And if France had not lost Saluces, or had any other footing in Italy, it is like, that, for conservation of their own liberties, most of those petty states would entertain a greater dependence in France.

Venetians.

Those, which make great pretence of adhering unto it, are the Venetians; but their territories are so far disjoyned, as they can hardly frame any great work on that foundation, especially there being scarce any means for the French forces to have any passage into their country; so as there pass but ordinary entertainments of compliments between them, and their greatest hope can be but of a pecuniary sum underhand, such as the Hollanders have received of him; for otherwise he sheweth himself extremely averse from entering into any open hostility with

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Spain,

Spain, for their sakes, as appeared in the time of the late excommunication, which the pope sent out against them ; Spain shewing itself bent to attack them upon that quarrel, and the Venetians being as resolutely determined to have made forceable opposition, if they might have had any encouragement thereunto from the king ; but instead thereof he used all means for the reconciling of them. Now, since he would not declare himself, when Spain was exhausted with the long wars in the Low Countries, and the Hollanders like to dispossess him of the East Indies, it is not probable he will shew any opposition at all from henceforwards, Spain having settled the matters of Holland, and of the Indies ; and having the commodity, and opportunity to conduct all his forces upon Italy, in any new occasion, that may arise : so as upon the whole matter it seemeth, that this king not daring to use the opportunities offered him, of recovering the antient sway and potency, which many of his predecessors had in Italy, (where note, besides the honour and reputation of the matter, they drew also, from those petty states, good profit by their pensions for protection) leaveth them by a secret confession to Spain, for him to make his advantage of them, by oppressing, and swallowing of them up ; when this crown, through the infancy of their king, or rather disorders, shall fall into their ancient combustions again, and so not be able to keep their neighbours of Italy ; this king preferring his present ease therein before his own honour, or his successor's security.

Duke of Savoy.

Among the princes of Italy may also be reckoned the duke of Savoy ; but as the chief of them, not only for the largeness of his territory, and multitude

titude of subjects (though in treasure perchance Florence exceeds him) but for the nobleness of his extraction also, the rest being descended, for the most part, either from merchants or the pope's bastards.

Of this present duke the king hath great diffidence ever since his dangerous attempt to have canonized his kingdom, by means of the marshal Biron, and some others, that thereby he might have enjoyed in quietness the marquisate of Saluces, and perchance have put in for Provence also. And although, having had since many causes of distrust from Spain, and some for attempts against his own person, he seeketh to unite himself to this king, and by his means to assay to bring to his children the dutchy of Milan, thinking he hath great wrong, that the Infanta should have for her portion all the territories of the Low Countries, and the other sister, which was his wife, nor her issue, to have any thing out of Spain but a voluntary pension uncertainly paid; yet this king holdeth off, and supposeth all his propositions to be but artifices, on which he would prevail himself with Spain, by revealing of them, if this king should give any consent that way.

In general consideration of the two states, there can little danger arise from Savoy to this kingdom; and that king speaking with me of the fortifications of the frontiers of this kingdom, and, amongst the rest, of some, that he proposed to make upon the borders of Savoy; I told him, I took that to be an unnecessary charge, for that there was no danger, that the dutchy of Savoy should swallow up the kingdom of France; but the likelihood rather on the other side. And that it were more royal for him to have the Alpes to be the fortresses of his frontiers that way, than any petty towns. He seemed to approve, and allow very well mine opinion; but there troubleth him a body of the most experienced soldiers

of all the king of Spain's regiments, to the number of three or four thousand, which continually reside in Savoy to this day, and so have done these six or seven years, as it were to attend the occasion of this king's death, or any other troubles in that realm, whereby they might set matters in combustion : And whether he should against these build fortresses, or oppose other troops, or dissemble the matter, as a thing, which concerneth him not, he cannot well tell what to resolve. In the mean time the Spaniard teacheth him this lesson, that the having of Savoy in the command or dependence of France would be a notable step to their further conquests in Italy, when it should resolve itself to follow the steps of their predecessors, in their attempts that way, upon any occasion presenting itself.

The Switzers.

Concerning the Switzers, this estate following old and outworn maxims, seemeth to run upon a notable error ; for the Switzers having much endamaged Lewis the twelfth (who with scornful words forsook their alliance) touching his dominions in Italy, and indeed drove him out of the dutchy of Milan, and thereby ruined him for Naples also, and the pensions of protection, which he had from the other petty princes there ; though this king now have little to do in Italy, yet he continueth his pensions to them in as ample manner, as his predecessors did, who had great territories and dominions there.

And whereas they further pretend, that hereby they are assured of their aid upon any other occasion, that they may have within the realm ; that draweth two discommodities with it. The first, that thereby their chief strength dependeth upon mercenaries, which is a sign the body is weak, when it cannot
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conserve itself without taking strange drugs. The second, that the kings are the more animated thereby to oppress their own subjects. And for any commodity they draw from it, it seemeth to be little ; for in the Low Countries, and other places, whence they have no pensions, they serve for four crowns a month, whereas in France they have six. There they are bound to serve upon all needs, as other soldiers do. In France they serve under certain capitulations of not going to the assault, of having ordnance, and horse men for their guard, and divers others.

Those of Spain have more reason for the pensions they give amongst them, in respect of their dominions in Italy ; but the French serve the Switzers turn very well, in making them to be sought unto by Spain, in respect to the pensions they draw out of France ; for if the French should give over, it is supposed they should not have any either from the one or the other.

Germany.

Touching the rest of Germany, his authority and credit amongst them is not very great. The reason is, that those princes and free cities are not now in doubt of being oppressed by the house, in which the imperial dignity resides. In the time of the emperor Charles V. both the French and the princes of the empire were afraid of him ; and then that common fear wrought an association between them, for their mutual defence. But Henry the second of France played such a part, as will make the Germans trust the French the worse from henceforward. For under colour of aiding duke Maurice of Saxony, and other princes of the empire, he levied an army, which being received as friends into Mets, most unjustly and fraudulently possessed themselves thereof,

as they did of Toul and Verdun also, and would have done of Strasburg, if others harms had not taught them to be diffident. Wherefore, as it is like, that this king, or his successors, will not seek the imperial dignity, for that hereby, if they proceed truly and directly, they should engage themselves in a war against the Turk, whereof the hazard and expence should be their own, and the profit (if any came) should redound to the house of Austria, by reason of their titles of Hungary, and those other dominions, which the Turk now possesseth; but rather seek to encroach by little and little upon the borders of the empire lying on this side of the river of Rhine: so on the other side, it seemeth, that the German electors should be as little, on their parts, disposed thereunto, for fear of giving him colour and opportunity thereby to dismember some of their provinces; but rather seek either to withdraw some of the adjacent and bordering princes of France, upon hope of liberty, to unite themselves to the body and protection of the empire; or else, according to Biron's design, there might be a second form of empire in this kingdom also.

The soldiers, which he hireth in Germany, consisted only of Reisters (serving himself for foot of the Switzers) and to that end he giveth some pensions *in speciem*, but without intent to pay them, as the king himself told me of that, which in that kind he had given to Sir Henry Guntrode. His chief pensioner in the empire is said to be the Landgrave of Hesse, and next to him the prince of Anhalt, under colour of paying debts due for service done heretofore: but his patching about payment of that, which the three temporal electors of Rhine, Saxony, and Brandenburg have lent him, should seem to nourish in them a settled and lasting discontentment.

Duke of Lorrain.

Touching the duke of Lorrain, this crown, by alliances, and pensions, and possessions, as the dutchy of Bar and others, hath of late years sought to unite that house unto them: but it seemeth they have not so sure hold of that province at this present, as they have had in former times, by reason of this king's professed distrust of their cousins of the house of Guise, and perchance also of some jealousy of their support from your majesty's dominions, in any occasion of difference, which may happen. But the valour and ableness of the present princes of that house being not answerable to their predecessors, maketh also their persons of less consideration. That the king maketh special account of the duke of Lorrain's dependence upon him, I perceived by his speech to me, when he shewed me his new buildings at Fontainebleau, saying, that he had built certain lodgings (which he pointed unto) for the entertainment of his brother of Lorrain, when he came to that court: The which I noted the more, because it was both done and spoken since the duke's second marriage.

Low-countries.

For the Low-countries (of danger from whence heretofore they stood most in apprehension, as appeareth by the fortification of Paris, there being no suburbs on that side of the river, which looketh thirtherwards) it seemeth, this king's providence, or his fortune, hath brought matters to such a pass, as they may well rest secure from fear henceforward, and rather with hope to reduce the antient members thereof under the subjection of this crown again, in that he hath prosecuted the occasion of severing

into halves that force, which being united was very mighty. But the doubt is, least the example of the Free States draw the other people of Flanders and Brabant into the like desire also; and then if this disease should creep by contagion, it may chance to come into the towns of France, being through their fortifications apt to entertain such a malady, the rather, seeing such extreme exactions used upon the people of the kingdom at this present: In which point, albeit your majesty participate equally with France in the benefit of having those forces severed, yet you run into no part of danger; the people of your realms being governed after a more moderate and respective fashion, and the towns of your dominions not fortified in that sort, as to be able to make any party by themselves.

Touching their joining of their sea forces to France to use any exploits against your majesty's dominions, I suppose there is no great fear to be had. For if they should prevail, it were the way to make the United States to lose that freedom, for which they have so long contended; and besides, he, that contendeth a conquest with mercenary forces, is like him, which maketh a purchase with money taken up at interest. But it is like enough, that by giving them pensions and privileges to traffick, they may so far tie them, as not to be against the crown of France,

Spain.

But their most potent borderer, and with whom for the present they are in most opposition and greatest struggling, is the king of Spain. The contention between them resembleth those fights, of which the writers of romance talk, between a well proportioned knight and a huge unwieldy giant; Spain having attained to one point of greatness, which neither Persians, Greeks nor Romans ever came

came unto, being able to use this poy or word truly, *Sol mihi semper lucet*. The sun shines always in some part of their dominions; or, It is day. Their variances also are not in probability, to have any speedy end; for (besides the competition of precedence, wherewith they trouble all the courts of Christendom) there are matters of title and conveniency in perpetual debate between them, so far forth, as there appeareth a mutual settled disdain and hatred between the two nations.

Touching their titles and pretentions, France seemeth to be plaintiff against Spain, which holdeth in possession Naples, Milan and Navarre, and the sovereignty of Flanders and Burgundy; the propriety of all which France pretendeth to appertain unto it. In countercharging of which, France hath only joined with Great Britain to withdraw from the obedience of Spain the Low-countries. But albeit Spain pretends not directly title to any territories in the possession of the crown of France (except it be that of the infant's to the dutchy of Bretagne, or the overworn one, which Inigo de Cardenas speaks of, to Languedoc, as having been in the possession of the Goths, from whom the kings of Spain are first descended, and then by force usurped by the Franks) yet in conveniency, and *pour la bienseance*, they have been in hand with two great exploits, of which the first was undertaken by the emperor Charles the Vth, in the year 1536, purposing to have gotten Provence and Languedoc, or all the sea coast between Spain and Italy; whereby his passages and messages between those two countries had been assured unto him, both by land and sea, for want of which they now daily run into many discommodities. The second was undertaken by Philip the IId, purposing to make an assured passage from his dominions of Spain to those of the Low-countries, either by conquering or dismembring this kingdom, by the
means

means of the league. And if a king of Spain, being able and sufficient, should attempt such a thing against France again in time of their disorder or weakness, he were likely to prevail, seeing England shall have no reason to help France, in respect of their former ungrateful dealings; and Germany itself is in that nature already; the aid of which two in the past troubles preserved this kingdom from rending in pieces. It seemeth also, that the continuing of such enterprises or invasions will rather rest on the side of Spain, than on that of France. First, because Spain is the greater country, but the more barren also: wherefore the less and more fruitful is the fitter to be invaded. Secondly, there are more factions in France, both in matters of religion and pretences to the crown, than in Spain; which ever maketh work for a foreigner, being well followed and plied, in which art the Spaniards are great masters. Thirdly, seeing this king of France, being the best furnished and provided for undertaking a war to recover his kingdom of Navarre, of any, which reigned there these many hundred years, doth nothing therein against an exhausted and weak king of Spain, and whom, in his ordinary talk, he much despiseth for his insufficiency; it is to be supposed, that hereafter his successor will be more quiet that way, so as Spain shall be always secure not to be assailed, and rest to attend her opportunities to assail France; which is an infinite advantage, and the greatest, which the Romans had to grow so much upon their neighbours, as some writers do observe.

Besides the affairs of Spain are so composed, as they must ever have an army on foot, both by sea and land, not only for the resisting of the Turk and their other enemies, but also for keeping in awe and terror their disjointed dominions in Flanders, Milan, Naples, Sicily and the Indies. This France needeth

needeth not, and therefore never ordinarily prepares forces, but upon extraordinary occasions, being otherwise unwilling to enter into expence. So as the one having ever the sword ready drawn in his hand, and the other his sword laid up in his armory, it is likely, that Spain will ever be the party, which shall give the first blow. And, therefore, though, when they are both prepared, the united force of France is, perchance, not inferior, but rather surmounteth the disjointed power of Spain; yet is it a disadvantage to France, that they must ever contend for their own possessions, and not for those of Spain; except this nation would enterprise somewhat for the dominions of Italy; for which also they have disfurnished themselves of means and opportunity, by quitting the marquissate of Saluces.

This present king hath had the wisdom or the fortune to outgo Spain in treaties; as namely, in that of Vervins, where he got restitution of Calais, and so many other towns, as perhaps by force he would not have gotten till this day. And if Spain had either been so just, or so wise, as to have restored Calais to England (who lost the same in Philip the 2d's quarrel) it would have been such a rampart between France and the dominions of the Low-countries, as they might have rested secure of all those provinces, which they possess, and perchance have had England's help for the regaining of the United Provinces to their obedience, and have put a continual pique between us and France: Whereas by giving it to France, they made us and them join together against Spain in this Low-country's treaty for severing of those dominions; and enabled thereby him, whom before they had infinitely provoked, to repay them with their own money of shrewd turns. And indeed Spain exceedingly complaineth of want of fidelity in the French, touching the observing
of

of the treaty of Vervins. But they have both mutually fought surprizes of places since, as the Spaniards of Marfeilles, the French of Pampeluna. But neither of them is apt directly to break, except he could do it upon some advantages.

To speak indifferently on both sides, it seemeth to be the more dishonourable on the part of France, Spain having wrought their machinations openly of the league, and upon a justifiable pretence of maintaining the Roman religion: whereas France, directly contrary to their promise, writing and oath, hath supplanted Spain, though by the foresaid treaty they received infinite advantage.

The state of matters between your majesty and France.

THIS may receive a three fold consideration. First, touching your title to that crown, and other dominions in that country. Secondly, touching the treaties passed about the same matter; and how they stand at this day. Thirdly, the good or evil, that may come to Great Britain by the amity or hostility of France.

The title of the crown of France was first assumed by Ed. III. in the 14th year of his reign; and his pretence thereunto was on this wise. Philip the 4th, king of France, surnamed Le Bel, left three sons, Lewis Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles le Bel, successively kings of France after him; and one daughter, Isabel, mother to the said Ed. III. In the right of Joan his wife, Philip le Bel was also king of Navarre. The same title of king of Navarre carried also his three sons. Philip le Bel had also one brother, called Charles de Valois; of whom it is said, he was son, brother, uncle and father of kings, and yet never king himself. His son was Philip of Valois. It is further to be noted, that each of the sons of Philip le Bel left daughters.

Now

Now the question was, after the death of Charles le Bel, to whom the kingdom of France should descend? The French ordered the matter amongst them so * * *.

After long and mortal wars about the title to the crown of France, there was a peace concluded at Bretigny, *Anno Dom.* 1360, between king Edw. III. and John king of France, then prisoner in England, whereby king Edward quitted his title of France, by taking for it the dutchy of Aquitaine, Calais, and some other places, to hold in sovereignty without acknowledgment of any subjection to the crown of France: which continued but few years. For king Edward, in the 44th year of his reign, resumed the stile of France again; because Charles the 5th had, by secret practices, gotten some of his dominions in France, and, upon demand, would not make restitution of them. So as from that time till the 8th of Hen. the 5th, all treaties went in the stile of truces, and not treaties of peace, and the commissions to treat were after this sort, *Cum adversario nostro Francie.*

But Henry the 5th, after his great victories, and his match with the daughter of Charles the 6th, being declared the present regent of France, and immediate successor to the crown, after the death of his father-in-law, was well content to quit the title for the possession of the thing itself. His son Henry the 6th was actually possessed both of the title and the realm of France. But loosing the possession of the realm, the title only was retained; and from thenceforward again the treaties between the two crowns continued in form of truces, till the 8th year of Hen. the 7th; for at that time there was a treaty made of peace and commerce, between him and Charles the 8th, who was then hastening to the conquest of Naples. The same peace, in the 14th year of Hen. the 7th, was confirmed in parliament with

with Lewis the 12th his successor. The stile, which Hen. the 7th gave to those French kings, was in this sort, *Charissimus frater noster rex Ludovicus Gallorum princeps*. The continuance thereof was but during the lives of the contractors and one year longer. There were afterwards in the time of Hen. the 8th, divers other treaties of peace made, as in the 6th, 8th, and 10th of his reign, in all which time the French king is stiled, *Francorum rex*, which is the inscription he useth upon his coins. These treaties soon expired, and another also made at Moore 1525, with the French king's mother, during his imprisonment. But the substance of them all was comprised in a treaty made the 19th year of Hen. the 8th, *Anno Dom. 1527*, which was called, *Trañatus Aureus*, because the seal put thereto was pure gold. In the same treaty there is, besides the points before specified, a much greater matter contained, namely, a direct transaction touching the king of England's pretension to the crown of France, *viz.* That notwithstanding his claim and stile of France, he and his successors should suffer the most Christian king and successors quietly to enjoy all dominions then in his possession, as peaceably, as if the king of England could make no claim unto them. On the other side, the French king and his successors should pay to the kings of England 50,000 crowns yearly, and deliver likewise yearly 50,000 crowns worth of salt of *Brouage* without demanding any thing for it; and further should not molest the kings of England in *secula*, for those territories, which king Henry then held in France. This was made *inter contrabentes et successores pro perpetuis futuris temporibus*. And for observation of the same, both the kings bound themselves reciprocally, *sub hypoteca omnium bonorum suorum*, as likewile the nobles, bishops and citizens of both realms. Since that time there have been di-

vers other treaties between the two crowns, running in the same stile of words; of which three only were made between the kings and their successors, the rest were but temporary. The first of these three is called, *Traſtatus Campenſis*, made the 7th of June, 1546, between the same princes, concerning the restitution of Boulogne, wherein also is concluded *Perpetua pax inter contrabentes, heredes, ſubditos, incolosque*.

Likewise, *Liberum commercium, et liber intercursus*, mutual restoring of rebels or fugitives upon request; how letters of mart and reprisal shall be granted, and some other points.

This *Traſtatus Campenſis* was, in the year 1547, confirmed between Edward the 6th, and Francis the 1st. The second is, *Traſtatus Cameracenſis*, made the 2d of April, 1559, between queen Elizabeth and Henry the 2d, and containeth a transaction for Calais, besides some other points of intercourse and depredations. The third is, *Traſtatus Trecentſis*, made the 11th of April, 1564, between queen Elizabeth and Charles the 9th, about the matters of Calais, wherein there is order set for perpetual peace, commerce, delivering of rebels, depredations, reprisals. But the pretensions and claims on both sides are reserved in the same state, in which they then were. This is the last treaty, which hath any continuance: for that made in the year, 1572, a little before the massacre, with Charles the 9th, was but for the lives of the princes then contracting, and one year after. True it is, that Henry the 3d confirmed the same for his time, the 20th of February, 1575, at Rheims; but it is now expired for want of the king's new confirmation thereof. Likewise that made between queen Elizabeth and this king, 1596, is determined by the death of the queen; the same having been made between the *contrabentes* only, and not their successors; so as (besides those formerly specified, and

and that, which your majesty hath of late made with this king about commerce and traffick, the 29th of February, 1606,) it is doubtful, whether any be in force or not; as those of Bretigny, of the 8th of Henry the 5th, and *Treatatus aureus*. For it is to be noted, that from that of Bretigny, within few years after it was made, there was a mutual reversion on both sides. Secondly, if Edward the 3d had died actually seized of both the crowns of England and France in possession as well as in title; as that of England went to the grand-child Richard the 2d, by the custom of England, so by the custom of France should that crown have gone to the son, namely, to John of Gaunt; for Lionel duke of Clarence was not then living. And accordingly it may be observed, that though Richard the 2d held the lands in Aquitaine better than Henry the 4th; yet for the title of the crown of France itself, Henry the 5th, and Henry the 6th, being of the house of Lancaster, prevailed more than any of the house of York, who, as I think, may be said to have the best right to the crown. Thirdly, that though it seems the treaty of Bretigny were quite extinct by the actual assuming of the crown of France by Henry the 6th, yet he being not right heir to Edward the 3d, in the crown of England, could not any way prejudice that title, but rather was in possession of a new estate purchased by his father Henry V. Touching the *Treatatus aureus*, and that transaction, the French might say well to your majesty, if they would restore all the possessions, which Henry the 8th then held, and pay the arrearsages of the 65,000 crowns *per ann.* for pension and salt. For king Henry being heir of both houses of York and Lancaster, and having the crown of France, not by annexion to the crown of England, but by descent upon a several title, he might well contract and bargain for it, without doing any wrong to the realm of England, or requiring their consent, which yet
he

he had, notwithstanding. But for paying their debts, the French are such wranglers, and so far behind hand, as all the ransom for delivery of their king John is not yet paid, nor the arrearages of the rent promised by Lewis the 12th to Henry the 7th, nor that, which is due by the said *Traſſatus aureus*, nor that, which Henry the 8th sent to king Francis for payment of his ransom to the emperor Charles the 5th, nor that, which Henry the 2d covenanted with queen Elizabeth to pay touching Calais; to omit to speak of the arrearages of your majesty's mother's dower, and of this king's own debts, though the monies were lent him in such times, as it saved him the crown of France, as himself in his own instruments confesseth; but instead of money, Du Tillet would discharge most of those debts with an answer, saying, That the successors are not bound to pay their predecessors debts; but that the English may sue their executors, if they can find them. Further, that the English have made the French spend more in defending themselves from their invasions, than the debts amount unto. And to shew, that the French have ever made slow payments to the English, they have a proverb, whereby they term their creditors, *Les Anglois*. One of their poets saith, *Je fais solliciter tous mes Anglois pour mes debtes parfaire*. Another,

———*de pres me venez prendre
Pour vous payer, et si devez entendre,
Que ne voy oncques Anglois de vostre taille,
Car à tous coups vous criez, baille, baille.*

It remaineth now to speak of the good or evil, which may come to your majesty and your dominions, by the amity or hostility of France.

The amity of France, if it could be entertained upon sure and honourable terms, were to be esteem-

ed above that of any other nation, as being your most nearest and potent borderers. That freeth your people from danger of any other invasion; for hardly can any other hurt us, as long as we have France for our friend. It giveth them scope and liberty to draw all advantages of peace at home; to exercise traffick abroad with security, not only with themselves, in receiving their abounding commodities, and venting ours of the like nature to them; but with all others. For if we had France for our enemy, hardly would our merchants ships pass up or down to any other parts without pilfering. There are many other more commodities than I can reckon; of which, perchance, it is not the least, that thereby your majesty avoideth the care, cumber, danger and mischiefs, which a war ever necessarily draweth with it; which against France especially, are ever like to be more, than either the glory or profit, that may ensue thereof. And for trial of this point, I will present to your majesty's view summarily the state of things in those times, when the English are supposed to have gained most by their invasions of France, which I find, especially, to be two. The first under the reign of Edward the 3d. The second that under Henry the 5th.

When Edward the 3d took upon him the stile of France, in the 14th year of his reign, he was possessed of Guienne. Robert de Artois, a prince of the blood, was fled unto him, and was chief inciter and counsellor of the war. All Flanders, by means of Jaques de Arteville, and those of Gaunt were for him. The dukes of Guelders and Juliers, the archbishop of Cologne, and sundry other lords bordering upon France, were his homagiaries or prisoners, each of them bound to serve him with certain numbers of horse and foot. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria had made him vicar of the empire in the province

provinces thereof bordering upon France. With this support, joined to the martial troops of the English (at that time, in the flower of their vigour for their military valour and discipline, insomuch, as the Italian writers of those times, among all the nations of Christendom, gave them the title of *Maestri della Guerra*,) King Edward assailed France by way of the Low-countries, besieging Cambray with an army of 40,000 men. When he had continued the siege a good while, and was like to have taken the town, all his homagiaries found sundry pretences to forsake him upon the sudden, so that he was fain to arise and follow after them. The next year he drew most of them together again before Tournay, but with the like success; for he prevailed not. And yet in these fruitless attempts he spent all his own treasure, all the subventions granted him by his subjects of England, and pawned *Magnam coronam Angliæ* for 45,000 l. sterling at Cologne, to certain merchants there; whereupon some of our antiquaries have told me, they have seen a note entred in the rolls of the Tower of those times, in these words. *Germanorum auxilia in pace onerosa, in bello inutilia.* So having well emptied their coffers on both sides, for a while there was a truce concluded, during the which the duke of Bretagne died, and there grew about the title of that province the great quarrel between the house of Montfort and Blois. The earl of Montfort adhered to king Edward, and had one of his daughters in marriage; and in the end, by the help of the English, prevailed at the battle of Avray, where Sir John Chandos was chief captain, had the victory, and took Bertrand de Guesclin prisoner. There also adhered to king Edward the earl of Harcourt in Normandy, and the lord Tankerville, upon certain injuries done unto him by the French king. So the truce being ended, the king in person made another descent in Nor-

mandy at Conflans near the borders of Bretagne, took sundry towns, and foraged the country, till such time as a great army of a 100,000 men being raised by Philip de Valois, king Edward meant by Picardy to have gone into Flanders, and not to have fought. But the French following hastily and confidently, forced his army to fight at Cressy, where Philip de Valois was overthrown, the king of Bohemia and the greatest part of all the nobles of France slain. The fruit of this great victory, after this great hazard, was no more but the taking of the town of Calais after eleven months siege.

In the mean time great and unusual contributions were raised in England, every man granting to the maintenance of this war his ninth sheaf of corn, his ninth lamb, his ninth fleece of wool, besides an impost of five marks upon every sack of wool transported; so as it is reported, the wool only then was worth to the king 1000 marks *per diem*, the mark of silver being more in weight then, than 40 s. now, and the value more than 3 l. Always there were occasions of demanding; if losses were sustained, to repair those; if victories obtained, to follow and reap the fruit of them. So as the Commons might say, *Vinco, vel vincor, semper ego laceror*. But to the end of the matter, there was little done, till such time as the prince of Wales having made a great road from Bourdeaux through Languedoc, Anjou and Poictou, was surpris'd by king John of France near Poictiers with an army of 60,000 men well furnished and fresh, the prince having but an army of 8,000, hurried out with a long journey, insomuch as the prince offered to restore all he had gotten in that road, so he might return quietly to Bourdeaux. But the French king would have the prince for his prisoner. The battle being struck, it fell out, that the king was the prince's prisoner. And the fruit of this victory

was, the great peace concluded at Bretigny, whereby the Dutchy of Aquitain, Calais, and certain other territories, were left to the kings of England, without acknowledging the sovereignty to France. But the next king, Charles the 5th, finding his strength in France, for multitude of people, to be great, and by reason of conformity of language, all generally more affected to him, than to the king of England, fell first to the practising of the great men of Aquitain, and after, by sudden inrodes, made many surprises of towns, before the force of England could be ready to help the matter. And tho' the terror of the English arms was so great, in those times, in the hearts of the French, as that five several small armies, most of them not much exceeding 10,000 a piece, landed at Calais, and passed through the midst of France, in the sight of Paris, sacking and ransoming all the country as they went, some to Bourdeaux, some to Bretagne, under the conduct of king Edward himself, of John of Gaunt, of the earl of Buckingham his brother, who was after duke of Gloucester, of Sir John Chandos and Sir Robert Knolles, unfought withal, or without offer of any main battle, but only skirted by some troops of horsemen; yet upon the end of the journey the English profited nothing thereby, but spent their own means, and that, which they had gained by the way, arriving at Bourdeaux and in Bertagne poor and tattered, having passed as a storm, that rageth for a time, but is soon dried up again, when the sun shineth. And in the end of the whole war, the English retained nothing of all the conquests in Edward the 3d's time, but only Calais, having in lieu thereof lost a greater quantity of land in Guienne, which he possessed at the beginning of the war, than that amounted unto, which he had gained about Calais, in Guisnes, and Anjou, and the land of Oye.

Touching the invasions in Henry the 5th's time, he then held in France only Calais with the adjacent territories, and the pared and shortned Dutchy of Guienne. Friend or partner in France he had then none, nor any great assistance of foreigners or mercenaries : but with the forces of his own realm he made his descent, not at Calais, but at Harfleur in Normandy, the which he took, and sundry other towns, without opposition ; for that during the madness of Charles the 6th, the factions of the Burgundians and Armagnacs were so hotly together by the ears, and so blindly earnest about their particular contentions, as though they had great forces on both sides in Paris, yet they used them not against the common enemy. At length, better be-thinking themselves, they both joined to chase away the English ; whereof king Henry hearing, he manned the towns, which he had gotten in Normandy, and sought to make his retreat to Calais. But the French way-lay him upon the river of Somme near Abbeville, and being not able to pass at Blancktaine, where his great grandfather Edward the 3d had passed, when the battle of Cressy was fought, he coasted the same river up to Amiens and Corbeil, and so passed it near its spring. By that time the French, with a mighty host of men, had gotten between him and Calais, having all the bridges upon the Somme at their commandment. At Agincourt they met the French, triple in number, fresh, well furnished ; the English so harried, as most of the archers had neither hats to their heads, nor shoes to their feet. God gave the victory to the English. But thereof there would have followed no great fruit, if the treacherous murdering of the duke of Burgundy, John, by Charles the dauphin of France, at Montreau-faut-yonne, had not alienated the minds of the Parisians from the dauphin, and made Philip the succeeding duke of Burgundy wholly

wholly to cleave to the English, thereby to get means of revenging his father's death, by disinheriting the dauphin. By this means was the French king's daughter married to king Henry, and thereupon declared presently regent, and immediate successor to the crown. The crown, notwithstanding, himself never had, dying soon after at Bois de Vincennes. But his son Henry the 6th wore it, and seven years the English commanded in Paris, till such time as the atonement being made between the duke of Burgundy and the dauphin, called afterwards Charles the 7th, we were first driven out of Paris, and soon after out of Normandy. And as by means of their divisions in France, under the conduct of a valorous king, we had made ourselves way to great matters; so under a weak successor, there arose the like factions amongst us, which made us lose both that, which we had newly gotten, and besides, all that, which we had by antient inheritance there; the conquered lands of Calais only remaining unto us. And these were the poor fruits of our greatest victories in France. Since these times there have been three other attempts made by the kings of England for recovering their inheritance in France, but with less success than the former. The first was by king Edward the 4th, with whom Charles duke of Burgundy should have joined; but his rangling about the town of Nuz at the time when king Edward needed most his address, and Lewis the 11th's plentiful offers of money, dissolved that expedition. The second was, in the beginning of Henry the 8th's time, when Ferdinand king of Aragon should have joined with the forces sent into France under the Marquis of Dorset for the recovering of Gascony; but the crafty king made a stalking-horse of the English forces, for himself, in the mean time, to surprise the kingdom of Navarre, which he, and his successors, have ever

since retained. The third was, in Henry the 8th his reign, when Charles the emperor and he should have met at Paris, and with both their forces have wrested their pretensions from Francis the 1st. But Henry the 8th, fearing the greatness, that might accrue to the emperor thereby, trifled out the time at Boulogne, which he got indeed, but spent so much in the getting of it, as made him fall into the dishonourable shift of making base money. And then Charles being within little more than a day's journey of Paris, seeing himself abandoned of the English, made his peace apart with the French. The same king's expedition, when they got Tournay and Terouenne, is scarce worth the rehearsing, since Guicciardin, in his history, censurcth the English thus for it, that they answered not in effect the same of their fierceness.

I will end these historical observations with adding two notes. The first, That if God had granted to Henry the 5th long life, and that he had settled himself in the full possession of the realm of France (as in all possibility he had done) he saw, that for conserving the same, it was necessary for him yet to undertake farther enterprizes against Pagans and other infidels, or some other people, so to unite the minds of both these nations under his obedience, and to quench their mutual animosities, by bringing them together into accommodations, where their danger and profit should have been to both common. And in that disposition and resolution he was, when he fell sick at Bois de Vincennes, as Montrelet witnesseth. The second, That if the two realms had been united, either by descent or by conquest, it would have been to England, *Cadmea victoria*, and ere this time, it would have been a province unto France. And therefore Mons. de Sully useth to say (and not impertinently) That there is nothing, which hath hindered

hindred the greatness of France so much, as the pretended law Salique. For had it not been for that, England, France and Spain had, long since, been, by descent, joined under one crown; and that the seat of that great monarchy must have been in France, as by experience we see it was, when those regions were united under the obedience of Albinus, Constantins, Constantine, Julian, Maximus, and others.

These things thus premised, and seeing for the time past so little good hath been done by other invasions upon France, it is to be doubted, that upon the same causes, the same effects will also ensue hereafter. And therefore, albeit, by your Majesty's coming to the crown of England, the forces thereof are more than doubled, (for that the one half of the force was in former times necessarily converted against Scotland) yet, on the other side, France is more strengthened against our invasions, than it hath been any time heretofore, in three respects: First, in having united under their command, the provinces of Bretagne, Aquitain, Provence, Dauphiné, and Burgundy, which then were severed. Secondly, in that their people are more accustomed generally to wars than ours, who have of a long time but served as mercenaries, and have not been bred in that orderly form of military discipline, which made them redoubted in the time of our valorous kings. Thirdly, for that the civil war of late years past in France, as it hath ruined the villages, and the plat pais, so hath it made all the great towns strong, and better fortified than ever heretofore. But if, on the other side, they should assail England with their great and united power, they want neither pretension of title, nor example of success. Their title they fetch from Lewis the eighth, who in the time of king John, during the barons wars, was called by them into England, and for a while acknowledged as their king. Their example from

William the Conqueror, who, with a small part of their force, subdued our whole land. For this being to be noted, that there being no fortresses in the inward parts of England, the gaining of two or three battles carrieth away the whole country, and sometimes less, as the Conqueror gained it in one only: so did Edward IV. Henry VII. and others. But in France it is clean contrary, by reason of their many strong holds; so as out of our great victories there, we most times drew but little profit, as hath been shewed.

It is further to be supposed, that as long as the title of France is retained in the stile of England, there can be no assured friendship between these two crowns; but that the one will serve itself of the other, for their mutual ends, against a third. And when the debt or danger of that third shall cease, then it is likely the one will enterprize upon the other. True it is, that if your Majesty listed, or saw reason to transact for the same, you might lawfully do it. For to all those possessions, which the kings of England held or claimed in France by inheritance, the crown of England can pretend no right, but that resteth only in the personal line of William the Conqueror, Henry II. and Edward III. Marry perchance to the conquered lands the crown may pretend right, as being purchased with the money, and forces thereof. And therefore in the *Traктatus Aureus*, king Henry VIII. made transactions for the one and the other; but it were no wisdom to acquit that, which they are accustomed so long to endure, without some good recompence; and that they never will give to any remarkable value, but in time of their adversity and disorder; and at this time they are in greater strength, riches, and unity of obedience, than in many hundred years past; and therefore the most dangerous neighbours that we have. The Almaines are disunited; Denmark not
potent;

potent ; Spain remote, and busied about other matters : but France gathering force as it were to wrestle with some body.

We standing then so dangerously by them in respect of their strength, their unquiet and turbulent humours, our irritating them by other pretensions, and thereby inciting them to feign some on us ; the ways are to be considered, how we may rest assured for our own safety, and withal adventure the recovery of our rights.

For the first, as long as your Majesty keepeth the advantage you have in the force of your navy, I suppose it is sufficiently provided for : but if they should once come to debate the dominion of the sea with us, that will make an entrance soon after to the wars on the land also.

For the other, It is to be considered, that for recovery of territories, or land, wrongfully detained there, are rightfully two ways to be used. The first, when the party wronged righteth himself by entry upon the wrong doer : the other is against the heir of the wrong-doer, who is not himself *possessor mala fidei* ; and therein the party wronged ought to have the aid of the judge to award him his right. But seeing between sovereign kings there is no judge, but almighty God, to help them to their right, the occasions must be attended, that come from him, for effecting the same, which to my understanding must be such, as may serve to sever and disjoin this great and unjust force. And therefore, (saying that there were particular quarrels to the person of the late Queen Elizabeth, for the good of the state in general) I think we should have done better to have saved our money, and to have let the League and the house of Bourbon, in which (in congruity and conformity of the title of the kings of England to the crown of France) we should have supported the uncle's right against the nephew, to have tried the matter out, till they had shared the provinces of the kingdom between them, (and if the Spaniard
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had had his part also, he might have found work enough there, so as we might have been thereby quiet;) rather than to have employed it, where with so little gratitude they acknowledge it, and with so little justice make restitution of what they have received.

The occasions of the severing this power may, as I conceive, grow from six heads: Namely, the pretensions about the legitimations of the king's children; the pretensions for regency in minority; the pretensions of Spain to Languedoc and Provence; the diversity of religions; their great exactions, wherewith they oppress their people; the cantonizing of the kingdom by the great men, and great towns thereof.

The point of legitimation is like to be disputed, first, by the princes of the blood against all the king's children in general, specially if their come any colour for it from Rome: and it hath been told me sundry times, that the cause, which makes the king adhere to the pope, is the doubt, least the holy father should trouble his kingdom by a piece of parchment, declaring his marriage with his queen to be of no validity, either in respect of queen Margaret or the marquise of Verneuil. In this point they also tell a certain pleasant tale; namely, that the king walking with the marquise in her garden at Verneuil, a workman upon his knees besought him to be good to a brother of his, who was condemned to be whip'd for having two wives. The king repulsed the poor fellow sharply, and told him, his brother deserved to be hanged: whereupon the marquise plucking him by the sleeve, said, *Ayez pitie de vos semblables, car vous en avez trois.* "Have pity on your like, for you have three wives." Against these pretensions, his only sure mean is thought to be, to ally himself by marriages with Great Britain and Spain both; for if he do it with Great Britain only, it will make the pope and Spain raise tumults again
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in his country : and if he do it with Spain only, it will make the Protestants, upon difference, to enter into new confederacies for their safety. But if he interest both Great Britain and Spain in defence and maintenance of his last marriage, by bestowing in each of those kingdoms, either a son or a daughter, it is not like, that the inward factions of the Realm will be able to work any great matters in this behalf.

Secondly, Touching the troubles, which pretensions to the regency in a minority may work, if that should happen, it is thought the queen would rely upon the house of Guise, to draw the affections of the Catholic party, and upon Mons. de Sully, to keep the Protestants from stirring against her ; and so assuring herself on both sides of the person of her son, and of the treasure and munition, it is not probable, that those weak princes of the house of Bourbon, who have neither wealth nor credit with either faction in religion, shall be able to wrest it from her. And yet I doubt not, but many of the discontented nobles will offer to side themselves with the princes of the blood, in hope to make some work thereby, for themselves to enter into captainships, and other places of command. And it is very like Spain will not be wanting to supply the weak part with money.

Thirdly, Spain hath ancient pretensions to the provinces of Languedoc and Provence from the Goths, who seated themselves there first, before they entered into Spain, and were expelled thence by force by the Franks. It would marvellously accommodate them for the passage of their packets by land into Italy, and their galleys by sea, if they could get the same again ; and they would be glad undoubtedly, to enter confederacy with the king of Great Britain, to help him to his ancient inheritance of the dutchy of Guienne, so they might have the help of the Britains for the other. But the northern
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royale, that the right thereunto, by descent from Charlemagne, resideth in that house. Likewise to Provence they pretend title, as hath been touched before. To Bretagne the duke of Vendosme, in the right of his wife, hath the title, which the parliament of Paris judged better than that, by which the crown now holdeth it. And to help it onwards, the king hath given him the government thereof also. If the example were begun by some, the rest would follow apace, as appeared by Biron's conspiracy.

Touching the Hollanders example, the town of Rochelle is at that pass already, that they obey the king as far as they think good themselves. If the desire of liberty in fortified towns creep from the United Provinces into Flanders, it is like to burn all along in France also, where it shall find every where matter prepared for it, both in regard of the strength of the towns, and the multitude of exactions and oppressions upon the townsmen. In conclusion, I hold it the most secure way for the crown of England, if France were as Germany is, having her forces severed into many parcels, and united into a titulary form of government; or, as Charles the last duke of Burgundy wished, that instead of one king it had twenty. For, as it is almost impossible for England by arms to subdue France; or, if it could be effected, yet would it prove a matter utterly unprofitable to the state of this island, (as the readiest way to make the same a province unto France) so is there nothing more easy, than to sever and divide it into many portions. To the performance whereof we should have the help and concurrence, not only of the most potent families within that realm, but of Spain also, especially allowing them the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea for their share.

F I N I S.

the fifth being busy about driving that bargain ; so as neither that king, nor any of his successors, have been able hitherto to bring the people unto it, tho' this king of late hath been nibbling at it in Auvergne, and some other inland provinces. And if things should fall out again, that some great victory, like to that of Cressy, Poitiers, or Agincourt, should befall us, it would be then an easy matter to unite firmly unto us the hearts of the inhabitants of the most oppressed provinces, so as they should have no desire to return to the French servitude again, in granting them the like condition of life, which our yeomen enjoy in England, and in retrenching the tyrannical and oppressing power, which their gentlemen, and other superiors, now exercise over them ; whereby, without any charge, we should make the inferior sort of people (which in number and strength exceed ten-fold the other) a sure garrison for us, tied with faithfulness by their own profit and ease. And indeed without that point, terror of arms is *malus diuturnitatis custos*, but ever upon the first occasion they revolt. And therefore some say, that king Henry VI. did ill, when he saw the duke of Burgundy (by whose means he enjoyed the crown for a while) fall from him, that he did not make Paris a free city in form of a commonwealth ; for so he might have had it a frontier against Charles the seventh, without any cost, and had thereby retained Normandy to himself : whereas, seeking to contain both by the terror of his arms, in few weeks he found himself dispossessed of both.

The sixth and greatest probability of severing this great united force ariseth from sundry pretensions, that many have, either to the crown itself, or to some provinces of that realm ; and from the example, which the issue of the Hollanders affairs breedeth among people habituated in like sort as they are. The house of Lorrain hath direct pretence to the crown, du Tillet confessing, *lib. i. cap. de la maison royale*,

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F I N I S.

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